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Studies in the Milton Tradition

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STUDIES IN THE MILTON TRADITION

BY

JOHN WALTER GOOD

A. B. Erskine College, 1902

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THESIS

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ENTITLED Studies in the Milton Tradition

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

The question of Milton's popularity during the Restoration Period has had an interesting development. The earliest recorded opinions on this subject seem to belong to the generation that succeeded the Restoration, and almost unanimously proclaim Milton unpopular during that period. The men who seem most responsible for this early view are Sir Richard Blackmore and John Dennis. While Addison had formally assumed a general popularity in the Introduction [1] to his Spectator Papers on Milton, yet it soon became conventional to speak of Addison as therein introducing Milton to the English reading public. As early as 1716, there is little doubt that Sir Richard Blackmore had some special reference to Addison in the following quotation:

> "It must be acknowledged that till about forty years ago Great Britian was barren of critical learning, Tho' fertile in excellent writers; and in particular had so little taste for epic poetry and was so unacquainted with the essential properties and true beauties of it that 'Paradise Lost' an admirable work of that kind, published by John Milton, the great ornament of his age and country lay many years unspoken of and entirely disregarded till at length it happened that some persons of great delicacy and judgment found out the merit of that excellent poem and by communicating it to their friends propagated the esteem of the author who soon acquired universal applause." [2]

The address of John Dennis To Judas Iscariot, Esq. (i.e. Mr. Booth), On the Degeneracy of the Public Taste (May 25,1719) deals largely with the neglect of Milton, affirming that "the great Qualities of Milton were not generally known among his Countrymen till the Paradise Lost had been published more than thirty years." [3]

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1. Spectator No. 262. Dec. 31, 1711.
2. Sir Richard Blackmore (d.1729). Essays. Quoted in C.W. Moulton, Lib. Lit. Crit. II. p. 258.
3. Letters, 1721. I. 70-80.

In 1721 Dennis declared that "Paradise Lost had been printed forty years before it was known to the greater part of England that there was such a book." [4] These statements readily appear not to refer exclusively to the work of Addison. Nor are they now understood as intended to be more than comparatively true. The high standards of Dennis especially were far in advance of his age; and such men seriously consider only just artistic appreciation. [5] But their words seem not to have had this important qualification in the mind of their earliest readers.

Just ten years later (1731) the same opinion is set forth by Aaron Hill, who speaks ironically of the judicious English nation receiving great glory "from our stupid insensibility to such a prodigious Genius as Milton's, who had been thirty years dead, before the force of his Poetry began to take Life among us." Then he deprecates the false taste that makes England ridiculous to foreign nations, in that she now exalts Blackmore, and rewards "a rumbling Rhapsody which debases kings into Prize-fighters, and does indignity to Human Nature," whereas there was only "Contempt expressed by the same wise Judges, a little bgfore, for that God like fire, in the Paradise Lost, where the Divine Nature seems heightened, till it appears more Divine, and man is rendered capable of giving Glory to the Angels." [6]

For neglecting to conform to this degenerate taste of the Restoration Period, says the introductory paper of The True Patriot, [7] "Milton himself lay long in obscurity, and the

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4. John Dennis (1657-1734). Letters, 1721. I.
5. A.W.Verity. Milton's Samson Agonistes. Introduction, lx-lxi.
6. Aaron Hill (1684-1750). Advice To The Poets. A Poem. 1731. x.
7. Quoted in the Gent. Mag. Jan., 1746. 16: 9.

world had nearly lost the best poem which it hath ever seen." With this general sentiment Horace Walpole is in agreement when he asserts (1757), that "Milton was forced to wait till the world had done admiring Quarles." [8] In the "Epistle Dedicatory," referred to above, Aaron Hill had spoken plainly of the national disgrace in that some great man of means did not seize the opportunity of rendering himself immortal by a noble patronage of the great Milton. This truth runs through the lines of Moses Mendes, in his Epistle To Mr. S. Tucker(1767):

> All this I grant: but does it follow then,
> That parts have drawn regard from wealthy men?
> Did Gay receive the tribute of the great?
> No, let his tomb be witness of his fate:
> For Milton's days are too long past to strike;
> The rich of all times ever were alike. [9]

This sense of an early neglect, which caused Milton to be regarded both the shame and the pride of the nation, ran through the entire Eighteenth Century. [10] More and more firmly the nation came to fix upon the highly prized Critique by Addison as the turning point of Milton's fame from evil days and evil tongues to national honor and immeasurable glory. The full force of this national opinion, mistaken though it was, will appear in a later connection, where the whole matter of Addison's Criticism will be brought into formal review. [11] It is enough for the present to observe that this mistaken view prevailed, and that it still persists.

Mr. Perry (1883) doubts that Milton could ever be a popular poet; and yet he affirms that, because courtly literature

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8. H. Walpole (1717-1797). To George Montagu. Aug.25, 1757. Ed. Toynbe. iv. 88. Cf. To the Rev.Wm.Cole. Dec.10,1775. ix. 293.
9. Moses Mendes(d.1758). A Col. Of the Most Esteemed Pieces of Poetry. See Cr. Rev. Nov., 1767. 24: 357-361.
10. Poetic Tribute No. 179.
11. Pages 169-174, and Appendix D, page 310

was so far removed from the common people, the populace read the Bible, and Bunyan, and Paradise Lost. But in general Mr. Perry regards Milton "the lonely singer of a fallen cause," and speaks of "the indifference with which that great poet was treated by his contemporaries." [12]

Professor Beljame, in his treatment of Addison (1897), says:

> "On a déjà vu comment Shakespeare avait été ou mis de côté, ou, pis encore, irrespectueusement défiguré; ses contemporains et ses prédécesseurs les plus illustres n'avaient pas été mieux traités. Enfin le seul poète nouveau qui méritât d'être cité à côté d'eux, l'auteur du Paradis perdu, n' avait guère recueille que le silence et l' indifférence. Ce fond solide et vraiment anglais avait été submergé par la littérature futile de la Restauration." Again he says of Addison's attempt to revive neglected native English literature: "Il parla avec admiration à ses lectures de Shakespeare, de Spenser, de Bacon, de Ben Jonson, surtout de Milton, au chef d'oeuvre duquel il ne consacra pas moins de dix-huit articles qui sont, après l' édition de Tonson dont j'ai déjà parlé, la première réparation faite par l'Angleterre au pauvre grand poète mort dans l'oubli." [13]

Robert Poscher, in his Andrew Marvills Poetische Werke (1908), holds that Milton was little known and recognized. [14] Professor Courthope (1909) affirms that Addison's "Papers on Milton achieved the triumph of making a practically unknown poem one of the most popular classics in the language." [15] Thus tenacious has been the idea of Milton's early neglect, and of his later popular installation by Addison, in its hold upon the English mind.

Granting for the time this neglect, the next impulse

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12. T.S.Perry. Eng. Lit. in the 18th. Cent. pp. 34, 40, 162.
13. Alex. Beljame. Addison: Le Public et Les Hommes de Lettres. pp. 315-317.
14. Weiner Beiträge Englischen Philogogie. vol.xxviii.(1908). p. 118.
15. W.J.Courthope. Addison: Eng. Men of Letters Srs. v. p.181.

was to explain the cause of its existence. With a love for Milton that was little short of idolatry, the Eighteenth Century could scarcely appreciate that any period of English History had ever neglected this most English of all the poets. Certainly the national feeling was, that there was some special degeneracy in such an age as should neglect the merits of a Milton. Hence there was a vital connection between this enquiry, and the great political, social, and ecclesiastical attempts to pry into and reconstruct Seventeenth Century English History. There was general tendency to publish, and republish every item accessible that bore upon English life during those troublous times; and it seems that no opportunity was missed of emphasizing the bearing of each new publication upon the status of Milton. The nation seemed hungry to know what new light each new author or editor could throw upon the puzzling problem of Milton's early neglect.

Often there was more emotion than scholarship applied to this problem, giving rise to such execration as that of Aaron Hill already cited, and of others whose feelings will appear in later pages of this discussion. The nation became sensitively critical of Restoration morality and politics. Thus the Monthly Review pronounced Buckingham's Character of Charles II. (1750) good and adequate, but extreme, if at all, on the charitable side.[16] The nation could never be reconciled to the trifle which Milton received for Paradise Lost; yet it was agreed that the price paid "was more than the purchaser had any reasonable prospect of being speedily re-imbursed" in such an age.[17] Perhaps this national feeling is connected not re-

16. Mo. Rev. May, 1750. 3: 38-47.
17. Wks. of Jas. Thomson. Mo. Rev. 1762. 26: 298-305.

motely with the demand for Butler's Satires, in Thyer's edition of The Genuine Remains in 1759.[18]

But during the latter half of the Eighteenth Century mere feeling gave place to sober investigation and scholarly judgment. Students of the problem began to grapple with the real questions of historical causes and effects. On a large scale this appears in the histories of the Seventeenth Century, of which this period produced quite a number. But in a more limited manner such studies appeared in the periodical literature and essays of the time.

In this less pretentious manner, Mrs. Barbauld attempted to explain the unpopularity of Milton on a historical basis of political views and literary taste.[19] Most critics, knowing the moral austerity of Milton, tended to explain his unpopularity on purely moral grounds. One ascribes the immoral condition of the Restoration to a deep natural tendency of the human mind to re-act from any overstrained condition.[20] This period presented, in so far as court influence was dominant, a solid immoral front to Puritanism, and to all that Milton held dear. Another finds that "Milton himself was under apprehension that his poem was produced too late for admiration, if not for excellence."[21] Rev. Thomas Monro discovers a kind

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18. Saml Butler (1612-1680). The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose. In 2 vols. By R. Thyer. London, 1759.
19. Mrs. Anna L. Barbauld (1743-1825).

The same argument of low taste appears in Milton After 300 Years (II). By "P.E.M." The Nation. 87: 542-545.
20. R. Smith. Microcosm. No. 13. Feb. 19,1787. Brit. Essayists, ed. 1827. vol. xxviii. pp. 77-83.
21. Mr. Frere. Microcosm. No. 25. May 7, 1787. Brit. Essayists. ed. 1827. vol. xxviii. pp. 146-150.

of debased consistency running through the wits of this period, whose loves and writings alike were characterized by immorality. "They seemed to have agreed, as it were, with universal consent, that a tale of humour was sufficient knowledge, good-fellowship sufficient honesty, and a restraint from the extremes of vice sufficient virtue."[22] William Hayley affirms that "the indecent acrimony with which Milton carried on his literary controversies is in part justly imputed to the spirit of the times."[23] Thus would Hayley lay the very sin of Milton for which the age hated him at the very door of that age. But Joseph Warton insisted upon emphasizing the factors of literary taste as the proper solution. In his Works of Alexander Pope (1797), he says, "It was too great attention to French criticism that hindered our poets, in Charles II's time, from comprehending the genius, and acknowledging the authority of Milton; else, without looking abroad, they might have acquired a manner more correct and perfect than the French authors could or can teach them."[24]

This general sketch will serve to show one line of activity that engaged consdierable attention throughout the Eighteenth Century. Much material on this subject will appear incidentally in the following pages. A more important line of activity is now to be mentioned. It is that of real research into the problem of Milton's early popularity. This has been a process of constant evolution toward formal proof that Milton was not, in view of the facts, so upopular as he has been supposed.

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22. Rev. Thos. Monro (1764-1815). Ollo Podrida. No.21. Aug. 4, 1787. Brit. Essayists. 1827. vol. xxviii. 316-323.

23. Wm. Hayley(1745-1820). The Ptl. Wks of J.Milton. Quoted in the Mo. Rev. Feb.,1795. 97(16): 121-125.

24. Jos. Warton(1722-1800). The Wks. of A. Pope. 9 vols. London, 1797. vol. I, p. 265.

In 1713, John Hughes, in dedicating his edition of Spenser's Works to Lord Sommers, said, "It was your Lordship encouraging a beautiful edition of Paradise Lost that first brought that incomparable poem to be generally known and esteemed."[25] Jonathan Richardson, in 1734, obeserves the "current opinion that the late Lord Sommers first gave this Poem a reputation," but undertakes to show, by several anecdotes, that the poem was "known and esteemed..... before there was such a man as Lord Sommers." This author, however, accords high praise to the work of Addison in this connection.[26] In his Life of Milton (1738), Thomas Birch argued that this magnificent edition of Paradise Lost in 1688 was not a cause but a proof of popularity, and cited among other evidences the famous subscription list in support of his contention.[27] He is, perhaps, the first biographer to do real research work in connection with a Life of Milton. From this time almost every account of Milton contributes something, incidentally at least, in the way of additional facts.

But the next formal effort to show Milton's early popularity was in the Life of Milton by Dr. Samuel Johnson (1779). He held that Paradise Lost had to force "its way in a kind of subterranean current through fear and silence" until the restraints of public appreciation were removed in the Revolution of 1688. But he argued from the Publisher's Contract with Milton that 3, 000

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25. John Hughes (1677-1720). Wks. of Spenser, 3 vols. London. Tonson. 1713. "Dedication," p. v. Cf. Tribute 85.

26. J. Richardson, Father and Son. Life of Milton. Explanatory Notes, &c. 1734. pp. cxvii-cxix.

27. Rev. Thos. Birch (1705-1766). An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. John Milton. Prose Wks.(1738). I. pp. xlvii, &c. This subscription list contains 500 names, among which are counted the best that England had in that generation.

copies were sold during the first eleven years.[28] The contribution to this study by Thomas Warton (1728-1790) marks one aspect of advancement upon all preceding works. In his Preface to Milton's Minor Poems (1785, and 1791), he devotes large space to a comparison between the early popularity of the Major and the Minor Poems of Milton. Succeeding Lives of Milton touch upon this problem[29]; but the next substantial contribution is in the thorough scholarship manifested in The Life of Milton, prepared by H. J. Todd, for his Variorum Edition of Milton's Poetical Works (1801). Todd leaves little room to doubt a reasonable popularity of Paradise Lost at an early date; and his conclusions are re-inforced by the findings of William Godwin in his Lives of John and Edward Phillips (1809).

The results of these labors were followed and enlarged upon by Professor Masson, in his exhaustive History of the Life and Times of John Milton(1859-1880). He devotes a large section of his last volume, less exhaustive than the other parts of the work, to The Posthumous Reputation of Milton. This reputation rests, according to Masson, largely upon Paradise Lost, whose extraordinary merits "about the beginning of 1669..... began to be a matter of talk among the critics and court-wits, and then through the boundless praise of it by Dryden and Lord Buckhurst."[30]

Later biographers, as well as literary historians, have been content, as a rule, with the Labors of Professor Masson. Mark Pattison's Milton (1879) is concerned more with condensation than expansion. Dr. Richard Garnett's Life of Milton(1890)

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28. Saml. Johnson(1709-1784). Life of Milton.(G.B.Hill). I. 141-44.
29. See the Chapter on Biography of Milton.
30. David Masson (1822-1907). Life of Milton. VI. 775-840.

adds a valuable Bibliography, compiled from the British Museum Catalogue, by Mr. John P. Anderson. Professor W. L. Phelps says that Addison "was not the first man to bring Milton into notice. Editions of Milton had been regularly supplying a quiet but steady demand."[31] Mr. Elton holds that "during the days of Dryden, Milton was not an influence-- he was only a reputation, and his repute was that of one misunderstood."[32] Professor Beers agrees that "a course of what Lowell calls 'penetential reading' in Restoration criticism will convince anyone that the names of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, already stood out distinctly as those of the four greatest English poets."[33] Filon has a section devoted to the "Gloire posthume de Milton," which emphasizes the quality of Milton's few admirers, and accounts for their number on the basis of literary taste.[34]

In 1909, Mr. R. D. Havens took up this question of Milton's early reputation for formal treatment in some sections of his Harvard Thesis, and made substantial contributions to the subject. He finds (1) that Milton's high rank was almost immediately established,—being early and persistently ranked with Waller and Cowley, and even pronounced superior to either of them; and (2) that this early rank is based almost exclusively upon the Major Poems, and Paradise Lost in particular. He estimates that 4,000 copies of it were sold before 1680.[35]

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31. The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement (1893). p.88.
32. Oliver Elton, The Agustan Ages. (1899). p. 206.
33. H. A. Beers, Hist. Eng. Rom. in the 18th. Cent. p. 69n.
34. Pierre Marie Augustin Filon, Histoire de la Litterature Anglaise. 4 ed. 1909. Hachette, Paris.
35. R.D.Havens, Seventeenth Notices of Milton, and Early Reputation of Paradise Lost. Englishe Studien, 1909. 40: 175 ff. The present writer has verified most of the materials in these papers, and acknowledges himself much indebted to this excellent piece of research done by Mr. Havens.

The preceding sketch of Miltonic interest during the Restoration period[36] is a sort of back-ground upon which to represent the no less interesting question of Milton's influence upon Eighteenth Century life and letters. Here, however, there is a conspicuous absence of many-sided opinions. As early as 1819, Thomas Campbell, while allowing that Paradise Lost was not early neglected, had denied to it any productive influence upon literature at the time of its appearance. It "attracted no crowd of imitators, and made no visible change in the poetical practice of the age. Milton stood alone and aloof above his times; the bard of immortal subjects, and as far as there is peppetuity in language, of immortal fame."[37] Eighty years later, as already stated, Mr. Elton declared that Milton was, during the days of Dryden, not an influence, but a reputation. These very words may be used to indicate what seems to be the prevailing opinion respecting the position of Milton's Epics during the Eighteenth Century. It is usually held that the Paradise Lost especially enjoyed a great reputation, but was not pre-eminently a productive influence.

The question of Milton's influence upon this period has been worked out almost entirely along the lines of the Romantic Movement. And from this point of view, there has been a striking unanimity in limiting the discussion of that influence almost exclusively to the Minor Poems, and even to a very few of them. The responsibility for this general view seems to rest largely upon

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36. There are other writings on this subject. Among them, the Dict. Natl. Biog.("Milton," p.482), and the Ency. Brit., ed. 11th. ("Milton," p. 489) follow Masson. Professor Saintsbury deals in a general way with Milton's early reputation. A Hist. of English Prosody (II.474), and The Camb. Hist.Eng.Lit. (VII, chap. v.). Prof. Edw. Dowden has a good summary in his Milton in the Eighteenth Century (1701-1750). Proc. of the Brit. Academy 1907-8.

37. Thos. Campbell (1777-1844). Essay on Eng. Poetry. Specimens, 1819. I. 238.

Professor Phelps and Professor Beers, who have gone into this subject more than others, and have said what most other writers have been content to repeat, or at least not to contradict.

In 1893, Professor Phelps published his popular book on The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement, in which he considers the Movement essentially one of revolt against Augustan standards. Chapter III of this book deals with the literary "Re-action in Form." In this chapter he devotes a few pages (36 ff) to the use of blank verse in the eighteenth century, concluding that "the re-action in form most naturally took the shape of blank verse for long poems; so that the sympathizers with the Romantic Movement, consciously or unconsciously, found themselves defending blank verse, while the classicists attacked it vigorously." But he develops Milton's influence in Chapter V, which deals with "The Literature of Melancholy." His view in this chapter is set forth in the following introductory statement:

> "We do not today think of Milton primarily as a Romantic poet; his great epic would more naturally place him in the ranks of the Classicists; and his remarkable devotion to the study of Greek and Latin authors, with the powerful influence they had upon him, would seem to separate him widely from Romanticism. To the men of the eighteenth century, however, his message was Romantic. He was shunned and practically neglected by the Augustans, whose Classicism was so thoroughly Horatian; and those who admired him did so more on account of the bulk of his epic and its theological theme, than from a genuine love and appreciation of his poetry. The young Romanticists claimed Milton for their own; his name was a rallying cry; and they followed him in thought, language, and versification. His influence cannot be traced out in detail so clearly as Spenser's; but it was a quickening force, as any one who reads eighteenth century minor poetry may see for himself. I have already spoken of his influence on the Reaction in Form; his blank verse was steadily imitated and did much toward dethroning the couplet; his octosyllabics were still more effective, and his sonnets leavened English poetry after 1750. But it was not so much in form as in thought that Milton affected the Romantic Movement; and although Paradise Lost was always reverentially considered his greatest work, it was not at this time nearly so effective as his minor poetry; and in the latter it was Il Pensoroso--the love of meditative comfortable melancholy--that penetrated most deeply into the Romantic soul." (p. 87).

Shortly after the appearance of Professor Phelps's book, Professor Courthope brought out his History of English Poetry, in which he mentions only the prominent Eighteenth Century writers of blank verse, pays his compliments to Professor Phelps, and follows him rather closely in his own chapter on "The Early Romantic Movement."[38] In 1898, W. Macneile Dixon, in his chapter on "The Romantic Revival," gives little more than a passing notice to the Eighteenth Century interests in blank verse poetry, mentioning only Thomson and Young. "From this time (1742)," he says, "blank verse grew in favor with the more imaginative writers." Then he develops the influence of Milton wholly through the Minor Poems, after the manner of Phelps and Courthope.[39]

The next year, Professor Beers presented with force the same general view in his History of English Romanticism(1899, 1906). He says, "The only important writer who had employed blank verse in undramatic poetry between the publication of Paradise Regained in 1672, and Thomson's Winter in 1726, was John Philips."(p.104). "It has been mentioned that Paradise Lost did much to keep alive the tradition of English blank verse through a period remarkable for its bigoted devotion to rhyme, and especially to the heroic couplet. Yet it was, after all, Milton's early poetry, in which rhyme is used--- though used so differently from the way in which Pope used it--- that counted most in the history of the Romantic Movement." (p. 148).

In thorough consistency with this point of view, Professor Beers tends to pass in hurried summary reviews those blank verse poems that do not especially fall in with his theory,(cf.p.124), and

38. Vol. V., Chapter xii., and p. 363.
39. In The Republic of Letters. Pp. 166-202.

to dwell only upon those that seem imbued with the spirit of Milton's earlier poetry. He has indeed traced this line of Miltonic influence with exactness, as it appears to him in the following statement:

> "The influence of Milton's Minor Poetry first became noticeable in the fifth decade of the Century, and in the work of a new group of lyrical poets, Collins, Gray, Mason, and the brothers, Joseph and Thomas Warton. To all of these Milton was master." (151).

More definitely, he says: "The poem of Milton which made the deepest impression upon the new school of poets was Il Penseroso. This little masterpiece, which sums up in imagery of 'Attic choice' the pleasures that Burton and Fletcher and many others had found in the indulgence of the atrabilious humor, fell in with a current of tendency. Pope had died in 1744, Swift in 1745, the last important survivors of the Queen Anne wits; and already the re-action against gayety had set in, in the deliberate and exaggerated solemnity which took possession of all departments of verse, and even invaded the theatre.....: That elegiac mood, that love of retirement and seclusion, which have been remarked in Shenstone, become now the dominant note in English poetry. The imaginative literature of the years 1740-60 was largely the literature of low spirits. The generation was persuaded, with Fletcher, that "Nothing's so dainty sweet as lovely Melancholy." But the muse of their inspiration was not the tragic Titaness of Dürer's painting: 'The Melancholia that transcends all wit;' (but) rather the 'mild Miltonic maid,' Pensive Meditation. There were various shades of somberness, from the delicate gray of the Wartons to the funereal sable of Young's Night Thoughts (1742-44) and Blair's Grave (1743)." (pp. 162-3).

In 1906, Charles Cestre followed in the foot-prints of these English literary historians. Discussing "La Revolution et les Origines du Romantisme,"[40] he says:

> "Il se produisit dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, en Angleterre, un mouvement de rénovation littéraire, dû au contre-coup, dans les lettres, des forces latentes qui préparaient le progrès social. (Here he discusses the works of the Wartons, Gray, Collins, Mason, Young, Blair, and Bowles). Ils ne se débarrassèrent pas de la conventions. A l'ancienne ils en substituèrent une nouvelle, sans trouver le secret de la poésie sincère et vraie. Ils remplacèrent le thème moral par la

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40. La Revolution Francaise et Les Poetes Arglaise (1906). Chapter V. Section iii. pp. 262-265.

> thème sentimental, l'appareil de l'antiquité par l'appareil du moyen-âge, la mode de l'abstraction par la mode de la 'Melancolie.'..... Ils ne s'affranchiront pas de l'autorité. Au lieu d'imiter Pope, ils imiterent Spenser et Milton; ils virent le moyen-âge surtout à travers la chevalerie de The Faerie Queene et ils reproduisirent à satiété les traits et les images 'melancoliques' de Il Penseroso." (He then speaks of Thomson's and of Young's deficiencies in the use of blank verse, and of the corruption of vocabulary which came through these revivals of the past).

Mr. Gosse, in his History of Eighteenth Century Literature, (p. 2.), holds that, throughout the period 1660-1780, the "heroic couplet was the normal and habitual form in which poetry, except on the stage, moved in its serious moments;" and consequently he treats other modes briefly as so many exceptions and abnormalities.

Two Papers, read in honor of Milton in 1908, Show only a slight variation from the conventional view of Milton and his influence upon the Eighteenth Century. But the following variations of thought are only general introductory statements, and are developed in the Papers from which they are taken. The first of these is from Milton's Fame On The Continent, by Professor J.G.Robertson.[41] He suggested that,

> "To Paradise Lost was due, to an extent that has not yet been fully realized, the change which came over European ideas in the eighteenth century with regard to the nature and scope of epic poetry; that work was the main stay of those adventurous critics who dared to vindicate in the face of French classicism the rights of the imagination over the reason as the creative and motive force in poetry."

The other Paper, Milton In The Eighteenth Century (1701-1750), by Edward Dowden,[42] was a little more definitely analytical. He considers that,

> "The influence of Milton on the literature of the eighteenth century was threefold --- an influence on poetic style, independent in a great degree of poetic

41. Procs.Brit. Acad. 1907-07. p.319.
42. Same, p. 275, 280.

matter and therefore not wholly favourable to literature, during the first half of the century, felt in the main by writers who were not in a high sense original; secondly, an influence alike on sentiment and style, which formed one of the many affluents of the Romantic Movement of the second half of the century, or, to be more exact, from about 1740 onwards; thirdly, an influence on thought, appearing at irregular intervals, but always associated with political liberalism or radicalism, from Birch and Benson and James Thomson to Hollis, Archdeacon Blackburne, and William Godwin in England, and to Mirabeau in France. The first of these modes of influence is chiefly connected with Paradise Lost, the second with Milton's earlier poems, the third with his Prose Writings."

Later in his Paper, Mr. Dowden says, "The poetry of the second half of the century went Milton-mad under the influence of the minor poems, and in particular of L'Allegro and Il Penseroso." [43]

In the same year (1908), Professor Saintsbury presented only the conventional features of the subject, in his History of English Prosody, with an evident tendency to disparage the quality of eighteenth century blank verse.[44] Mr. Seccombe followed (1909) the others in emphasizing the influence of the Minor Poems.[45] Schipper almost ignores eighteenth century blank verse in his History of English Versification(1910).[46]

The latest writer consulted falls into the conventional procession with more than ordinary enthusiasm. This is doubtless due in large measure to the nature of his general subject. The reference is to Mr. Edward Bliss Reed, who, in his English Lyrical Poetry(1912), says,

"More than any other piece of writing, Il Penseroso inspired the poetry of the mid-century. We feel its quiet

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43. Mr. Dowden's "Milton-mad" seems, however, to have been coined just after the mid-century, and applied to the writers of blank verse. Cf. Tribute 134.

44. Vol.II., Book viii., Chap. ii. "Blank Verse After Milton."

45. Thos. Seccombe, The Age of Johnson(1748-1798), p. 283.

46. Jakob Schipper, A Hist. of Eng. Versification. Oxford,1910. He seems to recognize only Thomson among the eighteenth century writers of blank verse.

> melancholy from Gray's Elegy to the humblest verses forgotten in the columns of the Gentleman's Magazine, while its personifications, "spare Fast," "retired Leisure," the "cherub Contemplation," are undoubtedly responsible for the endless train of allegorical figures that stalk through the Odes of the period." (p.358). This statement he then illustates very liberally from the Odes of Collins, the Wartons, and others.

Thus it would appear, that Professor Phelps and Professor Beers may congratulate themselves on their prestige in this particular field of early Romanticism. Both of their books have been popular, and called for in later editions. The path that they cleared out for themselves as pioneers has become a well-trodden literary highway. Without a large measure of truth in their early findings, this eminence could never have been possible. No one can doubt that, from their own respective points of view, and within the self-inposed limitations of their own peculiar definitions of Romanticism, as Revolt (Phelps), or Revival of the Middle Ages (Beers), each of them has said much that is true.

But do these conventional views speak the whole truth? Do they even speak the real truth of Milton's influence upon the movements of the eighteenth century? To one who has gone over the facts, apart from all definitions and theories of the Romantic or any other movement, the above questions are inevitable. No one, thus acquainted with the field, can doubt that, within the self-defined limits of these writers, they have used mere facts conservatively. The emphasis upon those special features of Milton's influence might be made much stronger. There is little doubt that each writer did judiciously select, from an extended accumulation of materials, that which was choicest for his own purpose. But one is forced to feel that this very principle of selection, which is on its other side one of exclusion, has been powerful in over

estimating the comparative influence of the Minor Poems over that of the Major. Such an influence upon a writer is inevitable, and often even unconsciously powerful, and most apt to be so when the principle of selection is directed by a more or less fixed definition. To avoid it under these circumstances would almost require one to be more than human.

Certainly this comparative exaltation of the Minor Poems may be challenged, when one breaks away from definitions, and looks at the influence of Milton in all its comprehensiveness, and multiplicity. Neither Milton nor the Romantic Movement is to be cramped within the compass of particular definitions. The Movement itself was an expression of eighteenth century life, as broad, as deep, and as powerful, as the hidden springs of life itself. From the facts that follow, two things would seem to appear as reasonably conclusive, as to the real influence of Milton upon eighteenth century life, and consequently and immeasurably upon the Romantic Movement. The first is, that the influence of Milton was powerfully felt upon all the multiplied forms and phases of eighteenth century life. The second is, that by far the mightiest element of this Miltonic influence came, directly or indirectly, from the Major Poems, and from Paradise Lost in particular.

The genesis of this treatment was an attempt to investigate the subject in respect to the conventional view of Milton's influence upon the eighteenth century. But the wealth of material involved has argued convincingly for a historical sketch of the various lines of Miltonic interests. This larger aim will bring into the work materials that the original purpose would have excluded. But the materials that are relevant will speak their own conclusion respecting the original question.

CHAPTER II. THE PUBLICATION OF MILTON'S WORKS.

The most direct approach to the interest in Milton during the period under consideration is from the standpoint of the Printing Press and the Book-store. It is the business of these institutions to study the trend and possibilities of public taste, and to direct their business ventures according to the demands of to-day or the probable demands of to-morrow. Success depends upon satisfying, or creating and satisfying, public demands by setting before the reading public what it desires to read. This simple business principle furnishes a very definite check upon one side of the Miltonic interests of this period. It shows how great were the general demands for Milton's works as a whole; and, what is more important for definite study, it shows the relative demands for the several different parts of Milton's Poetry and Prose Works.

This chapter deals with the facts concerning the publication of Milton's Works. In order to clearness and brevity, the more important pieces of poetry and prose are to be presented separately, showing what was done with each piece of the Works. The several complete and partial editions have been carefully analyzed, and their parts treated separately. Yet the plan of representation is such as to keep the unity of these composite editions constantly before the eyes of the reader. *

* This unity depends upon the first column of figures marked "A," which refers to the same edition wherever these numbers are found in succeeding pages. Under the editions of Paradise Lost the essential facts of most of the numbered edi-

tions are given, such as the date, publisher, place, title and form, and the editor wherever there is one mentioned. These facts for most of the remaining numbered editions are given under Paradise Regained, where there is added, with numbers, the four editions of the Poems on Several Occasions separately printed. By means of these reference figures the reader may easily identify any publication of the smaller poems with the complete or partial editions of the poetical Works of Milton. The list under Paradise Regained is further used to bring into clear view the several editions of The Complete Poetical Works, Paradise Regained and the Minor Poems, as well as the four editions of the Minor Poems separately printed.

Section 1. Publication of Paradise Lost.

A.	Date	Publisher.	Place.	Title, &c.
2	1667	P.Parker	London	P.L, 10 bks. 4to.
3	1668	"	"	Same, 2nd. title-page.
4	1668	S.Simmons	"	Same, 4th. " "
5	1669	"	"	Same, 5th. " "
6	1672?	?	?	?
10	1674	S.Simmons	London	P.L., 12 bks. 8vo.
11	1678	"	"	Same.
14	1688	J.Tonson	"	P.L. fol.
15	1691	?	"	P.L.
16	1692	?	"	P.L. fol.
17	1695	J.Tonson	"	Ptl.Wks. fol.
19	1698	"	"	Ptl.Remains(Gildon). 8vo.
20	1705	"	"	Ptl Wks, 2v. 8vo.
21	1707	"	"	Ptl Wks, 2v. 8vo.
22	1709	H.Hills.	"	With Philips's Cyder.
23	1711-3	J.Tonson	"	Ptl Wks, 2v. 12mo.
24	1719	"	"	P.L. pp. 315. 12mo.
25	1720	"	"	Ptl. Wks,2v. 4to.
26	1721	"	"	Ptl. Wks,2v. 12mo.
27	1724	?	Dublin	P.L.
28	1725	J.Tonson	London	Ptl Wks,2v.(Fenton). 8vo.[1]
29	1727	"	"	Ptl. Wks,2v. " 8vo.
30	1727	?	?	P.L., &c. 8vo.
31	1730	J.Tonson	London	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 8vo.
32	1731	"	"	Ptl.Wks., 8vo.
33	1732	"	"	P.L. (Bentley). 4to.
34	1737	"	"	P.L. 8vo.
35	1738	"	"	P.L. 8vo.
36	1739	Stationers	"	P.L. 12mo.
37	1741	J&R.Tonson	"	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 8vo.
39	1743	" "	"	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 8vo.
40	1745	T.Osborne	"	P.L.Prose(G.S.Green). 8vo.

1. 1725. Elegancies Taken Out of Milton's Paradise Lost, in The Shepherdess's Golden Manual. 8vo., selected by "Theagines."

41.	1746-7	J&R.Tonson	London	Ptl.Wks., 2v. 12mo.
42	1747-8	S. Powell	Dublin	Ptl.Wks., 2v. (Hawkey).8vo.
44	1747	"	"	P.L.revised(Hawkey).8vo.
45	1749	Tonson-Draper	London	P.L.,2v.(Newton). 4to.
46	1750	" "	"	P.L.,2v.(Newton). 8vo.
47	1750	R&A.Foulis	Glasgow	P.L.(=ed.1672,pp.317).8vo.
48	1750	R&A.Foulis	"	P.L. Bk.I. pp. 167.
49	1751	J&R.Tonson	London	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 12mo.
50	1751	R. Walker	"	P.L. 2v.(Marchant). 12mo.
51	1752	"	"	P.L. 2v. " 12mo.
52	1752	S. Powell	Dublin	Ptl.Wks.,2v.(Hawkey).8vo.
55	1753	Tonson-Draper	London	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 12mo.
57	1754	" "	"	P.L. 2v.(Newton). 4to.
58	1754	Ganeau	Paris	P.L. 2v. 16mo.
59	1755	T.Osborne?	"	P.L. Prose(Green). 8vo.
62	1757	J&R.Tonson	London	P.L. 2v.(Newton). 8vo.
63	1758	J.Baskerville	Birmingham	Ptl.Wks.,2v.(Newton-Text)8vo.
64	1758	"	"	Ptl.Wks.,2v.(N-Text).4to.
65	1759	"	"	Ptl.Wks.,2v.(N-Text).4to.
66	1760	Hitch & Hawes	London	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 12mo.
67	1761	?	?	Ptl Wks.,3v.(Newton).4to.
68	1761	?	Glasgow	P.L.
69	1761	T.Thompson.	London	P.L. pp.324. 8vo.
70	1762	A.Donaldson	Edinburgh	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 8vo.
71	1763	J&R.Tonson	London	Ptl.Wks.,4v.(Newton). 8vo.
72	1763	J.Wood	Edinburgh	P.L. New ed.pp.xiii,304.12mo.
73	1765	J.Wood	"	P.L. 2v. 12mo.
74	1765	W&W.Smith	Dublin	P.L. "17th.ed." 12mo.
75	1766	J.Tonson	London	Ptl.Wks.,4v.(Newton).8vo.
76	1767	A.Donaldson	Edinburgh	Ptl.Wks,,2v. 8vo.
77	1767	T.Osborne?	London	P.L.Prose(Green). 8vo.
78	(1770)	?	"	P.L.Prose. 8vo.
79	1770	T.Osborne?	"	P.L.Prose(Green). 8vo.
80	1770	J.Beecroft	"	Ptl.Wks.,4v.(Newton). 8vo.
81	1770	J.Beecroft	"	P.L. pp.lxx,319. 12mo.
82	1770	R&A.Foulis	Glasgow	P.L. pp.466. fol.
83	1771	R&A.Foulis	"	P.L. 2v. 12mo.
86	1773	J.Beecroft	London	Ptl.Wks.,4v.(Newton). 8vo.
87	1773	J.Exchaw	Dublin	Ptl.Wks.,4v.(Newton). 8vo.
88	1773		Edinburgh	Brit.Poets. vol 1-4.
89	1773	A.Kincaid	"	P.L.(altered). pp. 444.8vo.
91	1775	?	?	Ptl.Wks.,4v.(Newton). 4to.
92	1775	R.Bladon	London	P.L.& P.R. 2v. 12mo.
93	1775	?	?	P.L. (Newton).12mo.
94	1775	?	Phila.,Pa.	P.L.(first Amer.ed.).
95	1776	J.Bell	Edin-Lond.	Pts.of Gr.Brit.vol.35-38.12mo.
96	1777	J.Coote	London	P.L.(Newton).pp.332. 12mo.
98	1778	W.Strahan	"	P.L. pp. lxxi, 319. 12mo.
99	1778	"	"	P.L. 2v. 8vo.
100	1779	S.Johnson	"	Eng.Poets. vols.3-5. 8vo.
102	1782	J.Bell	"	Pts.of Gr.Brit. v.35-38.12mo.
103	1785	J.Wilson	Kilmarnock	P.L. pp.xvi,304. 12mo.
106	1788	JF&C.Rivington	London	P.L.Illus.(Gillies).12mo.
107	1790	" "	"	P.L.2v.(Newton). 8vo.
108	1790	S.Johnson	"	Eng.Poets. v.10-12. 8vo.
109	1790	For Booksellers	"	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 12mo.

111	1790	JF&C.Rivington	London	P.L.2v.(Newton). 12mo.
112	1791	John Wesley,ed.	"	Extracts P.L. pp.335. 12mo.
113	1795	R. Anderson	Edinburgh	Brit. Poets. v.5. 8vo.
114	1792	J. Raekman,ed.	Bury St.Ed.	P.L.Bk.I.(Lofft). 4to.
115	1793	J. "	" "	Same, Bks. I-II.
116	1793	B.White & Son	London	P.L.Illus.(Gillies). 12mo.
117	1793	Jos.Ritson,ed.	"	P.L.Bk.I.(Eng.Anthology).8vo
119	1794-7	Boydell-Nichol	"	Ptl.Wks.(Cowper-Hayley).fol.
120	1794	T&H.Richter	"	P.L. pp.493.L.P. 4to.
121	1794			P.L. (Eng.& Ital). 8vo.
122	1795-6	T.Longman	London	Ptl.Wks.,2v. 8vo.
123	1795-6	C.Cooke	"	Ptl.Wks.,2v.(Newton).12mo.
124	1795	J.Raekman	"	P.L. Bks.I-IV.(Lofft). 4to.
125	1795	C.M, editor	"	P.L. 3v. 12mo.
127	1796	J.Parsons	"	P.L. 2v.(Newton). 8vo.
128	1799	T.Heptinstall	"	P.L. pp.xlix, 371. 8vo.
130	1801	J.Johnson	"	Ptl.Wks.,6v.(H.J.Todd).8vo.

Paradise Lost was first published as "A Poem, in Ten Books," in 1667, with Milton's name in the title-page. The printing and sale of the poem were in the hands of Peter Parker. Numbers (2--6) above represent only parts of the original edition, which was placed on the market by installments. When the first part was sold, a new one would be bound, with a title-page bearing the date of the binding, and offered for sale. In this way, the first edition of the poem came to be represented by nine different title-pages. To one of those issues of the poem, in 1668, Milton added the Preface on the Verse, and the Argument. About the same time the publication of the poem passed into the hands of S. Simmons, who owned the copyright. He issued number (4) to be sold by S. Thompson, and number (5) to be sold by T. Helder.

When the first edition was exhausted, a "second edition revised and augmented" by Milton himself, appeared in the year of his death (1674). The third edition was published in 1678; the fourth, in 1688. Beyond this date, it is difficult

to speak with much certainty about the numbers of editions. Numbers do not seem to represent a single series of editions. One may find a "6th" edition of Paradise Regained in 1695, and "the 4th." edition in 1705. There was a "7th.edition" of the Minor Poems in 1727, and a "7th.edition, corrected" in 1730. The confusion of the early editions of Paradise Lost was so great that even Richardson felt unable to clear up the matter, in his Life of Milton, as early as 1734.[2] At a distance of two centuries, one can only hope for an approximate correctness, even in the most careful study of those early "editions."

After 1670, Faithborne's portrait of Milton was ready to occupy a conspicuous place in the book.[3] The edition of 1688 was almost an event of national history, in that it was connected with the Whig interests of that year. This magnificent edition was published by M. Flesher, for Jacob Tonson, in large folio, under subscription, and financed by Lord Dorset. This was the first ornamented edition of the poem, and Mr. Perry says that this edition was one of the first books ever published by subscription.[4] It was a splendid piece of work, and became a household treasure.[5] The subscription list contained 500 of the best names in England at that time, and speaks convincingly of the early recognition of Paradise Lost.

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The size of the early editions is largely a matter for conjecture. The Contract between Milton and the publisher specified that none of the first three editions were to go beyond fifteen hundred copies. It seems that about thirteen hundred copies were sold during the first eighteen months after the publication of the poem in 1667. Dr. Johnson thought that 3,000 copies were sold during the first eleven years.[6] Mr. Havens estimated that there were probably 4,000 copies of Paradise Lost in circulation in the year 1680. The purely literary interest in the poem must, therefore, have been quite considerable before the popularizing movement of 1688.

The distinctly commercial aspects of the poem are not without historical interest. According to Masson,[7] Samuel Simmons, upon paying Milton five pounds down, and five pounds for each of three succeeding editions, was to attain full possession of the copyright of Paradise Lost. Milton received ten pounds, and, after his death, Simmons, by composition with Milton's widow, closed the contract by paying her eight pounds more. In 1680 or 1681, Simmons sold his copyright to Brabazon Aylmer for twenty-five pounds. He, in turn, sold one half interest in the copyright to Jacob Tonson, at more than one hundred per cent advance upon the price paid to Simmons.[8] On March 24, 1691, Tonson bought of Aylmer the other half of the copyright "at an advanced price." About this time, Tonson also came into control, if not into full possession, of the other poems of Milton. In a commercial sense, at least, Milton

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6. Johnson, Life of Milton. (G.B.Hill). I. 141-144.
7. History of Milton. 6: 780-787.
8. Tonson bought the first half on August 17, 1683.

had, by these transactions, fallen upon prosperous times. Jacob Tonson, notwithstanding his "leering looks, bull-faced, and freckled fair" appearance, was a thoroughgoing business man. He kept the copyright in his own possession, pushed the publication and sale of the poetry, especially of Paradise Lost, and made a fortune out of his interest in the great English Poet.[9]

Tonson made the poem attractive in form and appearance. He produced it in all sizes, from the handy pocket edition quarto, to the large ornamented edition folio. He used the best materials available, and probably engaged the best talent for the work of engraving and binding that the times could afford. He was constantly on the alert for new and helpful additions to the work in the way of notes and illustrations. He planned with Patrick Hume the first annotated edition of the poem (1695). The Tonsons, by constantly encouraging critical activities upon the poem, did much to prepare the way for the first variorum edition of Paradise Lost, edited by Thomas Newton, and published by Tonson and Draper in 1749.

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Paradise Lost was first published in Dublin in 1734, which was a quarter of the century before any other poem of Milton, except the adaptations of Samus and Samson, were printed in Ireland. There were three editions of Paradise Lost in Scotland (A47, 48, 68), before the Minor Poems were published in that country (1768). The first of these editions (A47) harks back to an edition of 1672, no other mention of which has been found. The second (A48) contained an elaborate commentary on Book I of the Epic.

The mid-century period (Chapter vi below) was a time of great activity among editors and commentators, and almost every edition of Paradise Lost was supplied with some kind of notes or criticism. The plan persisted to some extent throughout the century. The accumulating materials of this kind were used by Newton for the first varicrum edition (1749, and by Todd for the second variorum edition (1801).

In 1765, W.& W. Smith published in Dublin a "seventeenth edition" of Paradise Lost, with a Glossary and other helps (A74). Just what was meant by this "seventeenth edition" seems impossible to determine; for the number seems not to harmonize with any of the earlier numbering of editions. The Scotch editions indicate an espeeial interest in the poem. Foulis, of Glasgow,

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contribution" for Mrs. Foster, Milton's grand-daughter, and Tonson gave £ 20.(Johnson, above).

The very document of the original Contract between Milton and Simmons became an article of commercial value. This Contract was still in the hands of the third Tonson in 1750(Newton's Life). After Tonson's death(1767), their printing business ceased, and their papers were scattered. The Contract was lost from sight until 1824. At that time it was sold, by a tailor, with other Tonson papers, to Septimus Prowett, a London book-seller, for £ 25. These papers Prowett sold at auction, Feb.28, 1826, when the Contract a-

made an effort to furnish to his countrymen an extra finely printed folio edition of Paradise Lost, in 1770 (A97). A presentation copy of this edition, now in the British Museum, was sent by the binder, J. Scott, to King George the Third. Toward the end of the century, there was a tendency in the direction of elaborate engraving for the ornamentation of the poem. This tendency produced many beautiful title-pages (Cf. A125 and 126), and excellent illustrations. The tendency itself was a part of that general interest which resulted in the Milton Gallery, by Fuseli.[10]

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lone was bought by Pickering, for £45. 3s. He sold it for £60 to Sir Thomas Lawrence, at whose death (1830) it fell again into the hands of Pickering, who sold it again to the poet Rogers. Rogers had acquired possession of Dryden's contract for the Fables, and Goldsmith's contract with James Dodsley (March 31st.,1763) for The Chronological History of the Lives of Eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland. All three of these Contracts, Mr. Rogers presented, as a gift to the Nation, to the British Museum, where they are kept together. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi, p. 511n. John Foster, The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith, 2vols. 1871. p.274, 339n.).

10. The possibility of subjects for the painter from Paradise Lost was early realized. Beginning with Tonson's folio edition of 1688, the Epic was usually "ornamented with sculptures." Steele showed some special interest in this aspect of the poem in his Tatler papers (Chapter v below). J. Richardson, who was himself a painter, has, in his Explanatory Notes (1734), a reference from the "Table of Principal Subjects" to "Pictures," pp. 544-545. These are word-pictures, 44 in number, but were suggestive for the brush. The World (No.121, April 24, 1755), in An Imaginary Visit to Parnassus, represented a marble temple, adorned with fine scenes painted from Homer, Virgil, and Paradise Lost.

But it was left for John Henry Fuseli (1741-1825) to work out these suggestions into the "Milton Gallery." "His art-loving family was on intimate terms with the literary circle at Zurich, which claims to have started the Romantic Movement in general literarture, represented by J.J.Bodmer, J.J. Breitinger, and the painter-poet, Solomon Gessner, who stood sponsor to the infant Heinrich." Fuseli studied at the Collegium Carolinum at Zurich, of which Bodmer and Breitinger were professors. He knew English, French, Italian, Greek, and Latin. He was an ardent student of Shakespeare,

Section 5. Publication of Paradise Regained.

Turning from the greater Epic to the less, one faces a proportionate decrease in editions that holds good for almost every phase of interest in the two Epics. While in the case of Paradise Lost, the tendency was to multiply the number of separate editions, and to spare no means of exalting the merits of that great poem, in the case of Paradise Regained the tendency was to publish the lesser Epic as a part of

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Richardson, Milton, Dante, Rousseau, and the Bible, all of of which furnished materials for his pencil.

Fuseli went to England in the end of 1763, and was in Rome, 1770-8, where he sketched some of the ideas of Milton, Dante, and Shakespeare, which were afterwards worked into his more famous pictures. Later he revisited Zurich, and then returned to England. He was a friend to Dr. Armstrong (Art of Health, ii, 236). In 1780, he painted the Ithurial scene from Milton (Cf. Steele, Tatler, 237. Oct. 14, 1710).

The "Milton Gallery" was the out-come of the elaborate edition of Milton, proposed by Johnson, in 1790, to rival that of Boydell's Shakespeare. Cowper was to have edited the work. Fuseli was to have painted the pictures. Sharp, Bartolozzi, Blake, and others, were to have made the engravings. But the project failed. Fuseli, however, transformed his enthusiasm into the "Milton Gallery," which was opened May 26, 1799, with forty pictures. It was closed after two months; but was opened next year, with seven new pictures, at the vacated rooms of the Royal Academy, in Poll Moll.

Most of the scenes were taken from Paradise Lost. The Lazar House, and the Deluge seem to have been very attractive to this imaginative artist. But the Gallery was, in general, felt to be unsatisfactory, because of its "wild extravagance." (Lionel Cust, D.N.B. "Fuseli.").

Miss Seward applauded this undertaking of Fuseli, in her Anecdotes of Some Distinguished Persons, chiefly of the present, and preceding centuries. vol. iv., 1796. See Mo. Rev. April, 1797. 103(22): 385-398. Thomas Green visited the Gallery on June 3, 1799, and criticized Fuseli as "rather bombastic than sublime." (Extracts from Diary). John Flaxman (1755-1826), the painter, drew his subjects from Dante, rather than from Milton, for three reasons. (1) He was unwilling to interfere with Fuseli. (2). Because Dante supplied more figures. (3) He had heard that Michael Angelo

Th. Poetical Works of Milton. But even in this com. ction, the smaller Epic was exalted as the second most con.derable part of Milton's poetry. It was declared to be inferior only in comparison with the Paradise Lost.[11] The general attitude toward the Paradise Regained will appear in the list of editions, and the comments that follow.

A	Date	With What	Separate Editions.
1			(1645. Poems on Several Occasions).
7	1671	S.A.	J.Starkey, London. P.R.,4Bks. 8vo.
8	1672	S.A.	" " Same.
9	1673		(1673. Poems on Several Occasions).
12	1680	S.A.	J.Starkey, London. P.R.&c. pp. 132.
13	1688	S.A.	R.Taylor, " P.R..S.A.,2 parts.
17	1695	Ptl.Wks.	
18	1695	Minor Poems.	Tonson?, London. fol. "6th. ed."
19	1698	Ptl.Wks.	
20	1705	Ptl.Wks.	
21	1707	Ptl.Wks.	
23	1711-3	Ptl.Wks.	
25	1720	Ptl.Wks.	
26	1721	Ptl.Wks.	
28	1725	Ptl.Wks.	
29	1727	Ptl.Wks.	
31	1730	Ptl.Wks.	
34	1731	Ptl.Wks.	
37	1741	Ptl.Wks.	
38	1742	Minor Poems.	Tonson, London. 8vo.
39	1743	Ptl.Wks.	
41	1746-7	Ptl.Wks.	
42	1747-8	Ptl.Wks.	
43	1747	Minor Poems.	R.Foulis, Glasgow. 18mo.
49	1751	Ptl.Wks.	
52	1752	Ptl.Wks.	
53	1752	Minor Poems.	Tonson, (Newton), Lond. 4to. pp. 690.
54	1752	Minor Poems.	R&A.Foulis,Glasgow. 18mo. II. 368.
55	1753	Ptl.Wks.	

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had made a number of designs in the margin of a copy of Dante. Yet Flaxman regarded "Milton the very greatest of poets." (H.C.Robinson, Diary. Jan.17, 1811. I, 319).

11. Giles Jacob (1686-1744). An Account of the Lives of Our Most Considerable English Poets. 1720. II, 106.

56 1753 Minor Poems. Tonson-Draper, (Newton). L. 8vo.
60 1755 Minor Poems. J. [illegible], Glasgow. [illegible]. pp. [illegible].
61 1756 Minor Poems. J&R. Tonson. London. 12mo. pp. 351.
63 1758 Ptl. Wks.
64 1758 Ptl. Wks.
65 1759 Ptl. Wks.
66 1760 Ptl. Wks.
67 1761 Ptl. Wks.
70 1762 Ptl. Wks.
71 1763 Ptl. Wks.
75 1766 Ptl. Wks.
76 1767 Ptl. Wks.
80 1770 Ptl. Wks.
84 1771 The Recovery of Man; or, Paradise Regained, in Prose. London, 1771. 12mo.
85 1772 Minor Poems. R&A.Foulis (Newton). Glasgow. 2v. 12mo.
86 1773 Ptl. Wks.
87 1773 Ptl. Wks.
88 1773 Ptl. Wks.
90 1774 Minor Poems. Newton edition. 4to.
91 1775 Ptl. Wks.
92 1775 P. Lost.
95 1776 Ptl. Wks.
97 1777 Minor Poems. W.Strahan.(Newton)."new ed."4to. 690.
100 1779 Ptl. Wks.
101 1779 Paradise Regained, in Four Books. 12mo. pp. 108. Tophis and Burney. London.
102 1782 Ptl. Wks.
104 1785 Minor Poems. W.Strahan(Newton). L. 2vol. 8vo.
105 (1785. Poems on Sev. Occasions. ed. T. Warton).
108 1790 Ptl. Wks.
109 1790 Ptl. Wks.
111 (1791. Poems on Sev. Occasions. 2nd.ed. Warton).
113 1793 Ptl. Wks.
118 1793 Paradise Regained, in Four Books. 12mo. pp. 94. J. Catnach. Alnwick.
119 1794-7 Ptl. Wks.
122 1795-6 Ptl. Wks.
123 1795-6 Ptl. Wks.
126 1795 Paradise Regained, with Notes,&c. By.Chas.Dunster. 4to. pp.iv, 280. Cadell & Davies, London.
129 (1800) Paradise Regained. 4to. pp. vi, 280. R.H. Evans. London. Notes,&c., by C. Dunster.
130 1801 Ptl. Wks.

Paradise Regained, a Poem in Four Books, with Milton's name on the title-page, was published, with Samson Agonistes, in 1671. It seems that this edition was re-issued in 1672.

The two poems were published together in a new edition in 1680, and again in 1688. The smaller Epic next appeared as a part of Milton's Poetical Works in 1695. From that time, Paradise Regained became the chief element in a second part of the complete poetical works. The division into two parts was due, in large measure, to the extra attention given to Paradise Lost. That poem, with its accumulation of critical materials, which began early to assume importance, was set off, as a first part of the works, against a second part whose title usually read:

> Paradise Regained..... To Which is added Samson Agonistes, the Poems of Several Occasions, and the Tractate of Education.

Under this arrangement of Milton's poetry, the editions of Paradise Lost might easily be multiplied, and the Minor Poems were almost uniformly subordinated to the lesser Epic. The two preceding lists of editions may be summarized as in the following table:

Manner of printing	Paradise Lost	Paradise Regained	Minor Poems
In Poetical Works	42	42	42
In separate editions	53	4	4
P.R. + Minor Poems		12	12
P.L. + P. R.	1	1	
With Samson Agonistes		4	
In Prose editions	5	1	
Total editions	101	64	58

Section 3. Publication of Samson Agonistes.

Of Samson Agonistes, little needs to be said, more than appears in the list of editions. The poem first appeared, with Paradise Regained, in 1671, and subsequently, in the same combination, in 1672?, 1680, and 1688. It became a part of The Poetical Works in 1695, and seems never to have been printed in separate edition, except in the adapted forms, as indicated in the following list of editions.

A7 1671	17 1695	21 1707	28 1725	37 1741
8 1672	18 1695	23 1713	29 1727	38 1742
12 1680	19 1698	25 1720	31 1730	
13 1688	20 1705	26 1721	32 1731	

1742 Hamilton Adaptation.[12] J.Hardy London. pp.22.4to.
1742 " " " " pp.23.4to.
1742 " " J&R.Tonson " pp.23.4to.
1743 " " " " " pp.32.8vo.

39 1743	41 1747	42 1752	43 1747

1749 Oxford Adaptation. ? 8vo.
1751 Hamilton Adaptation. Tonson &c.London. 8vo.

49 1751	54 1752	60 1755	64 1758
52 1752	55 1753	61 1756	65 1759
53 1752	56 1753	63 1758	

1759 Hamilton Adaptation. J&R.Tonson Lond. 8vo.

66 1760	67 1761

1762 Hamilton Adaptation. J&R.Tonson Lond. 4to.

70 1762	71 1763

1765 ? Adaptation. ? Salisbury. 4to.

75 1766	85 1772	88 1773	95 1776	102 1782
76 1767	86 1773	90 1774	97 1777	104 1785
80 1770	87 1773	91 1775	100 1779	

1783 Tr.into Greek, by G.H.Glasse. Oxford. Faulder. 8vo.

108 1790	~~110 1790~~	119 1797	123 1796	130 1801
109 1790	113 1793	121 1796		

1797. Brit. Theatre, v.34. J.Bell. London. 8vo.

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12. Samson Agonistes. An Oratorio, in three acts. As performed in the Theatre Royal. Altered from Milton (by N. Hamilton). Set to music by Mr. Handel.

Section 4. Publication of Comus.

Comus, "as adapted for the stage," appeared in many separate editions. But apart from these adaptations, there seems to have been only five editions of the Mask separately printed. The first of these separate editions were the first two editions of the poem. The third was in 1747. The last two were at the very end of the eighteenth century. The Mask was, however, printed in various forms, as follows.

1637 Comus, as acted at Ludlow, 1634. H.Lawes. 4to.
1638 Comus. J.Hughs. 4to.

A1 1645	19 1698	25 1720	31 1730
9 1673	20 1705	26 1721	32 1731
17 1695	21 1707	28 1725	
18 1695	23 1713	29 1727	

1738 Dalton Adaptation.[13] R.Dodsley. London. 8vo.
1738 " " " " 8vo.
1738 " " " " 8vo.
1738 " " S.Powell. Dublin. 8vo.

37 1741 38 1742 39 1743

1744? Dalton Adaptation. ?
1747 Comus (Original Text)? London. 12mo.

41 1747 42 1747 43 1747

1750 Dalton Adaptation. A.Millar. London. 12mo.

49 1751	54 1752	57 1755	64 1758
52 1752	55 1753	61 1756	65 1759
53 1752	56 1753	63 1758	

1759 Dalton Adaptation. A.Millar. London. 8vo.
1760 " " " " 8vo.

66 1760 67 1761 70 1762

1762 Dalton Adaptation. A.Millar. London. 8vo.

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13. Comus, a Mask: (3 acts) as altered by John Dalton, from Milton's Mask. pp. 52.
In 1737, P. Rolli published Sabrina, a Masque;(in three acts and in verse. Founded on the Comus of Milton). pp. 61. Italian & English. J.Crichley. London. 8vo.

71 1763 75 1766 76 1767 80 1770

1771 Colman Adaptation. ? London. 8vo.(3 acts)

85 1772 86 1773 87 1773 88 1773

1774 Colman Adaptation. ? London. 8vo.

90 1774 91 1775 95 1776 97 1777

1776 Colman Adaptation. J.Bell. London. Br.Theatre.9
1777 Colman " " " 12mo.
1777 Colman " J.Wenman. ? 8vo.

100 1779 102 1782

1784 Colman Adaptation. J.Bell. London. 12mo. Supplement Br.Theatre. v. 4.

104 1785 105 1735

1786 Colman Adaptation. ? Edin. Br.Stage.v.4.
1789 V. Knox, editor. ? Lond. Elegant Ext's.

108 1790 109 1790 111 1791

1791 Dalton Adaptation. J.Bell. Lond. Br.Thea.v.1.

113 1793 119 1794 122 1795 123 1795

1797 Dalton Adaptation. J.Bell. Lond. Br.Thea.v.1.
1798 H.J.Todd, editor. W.Bristow. Canterbury. 8vo.
1799 Dapton Adaptation. J.Bell. London.Br.The.v.1.
1799 T.Warton, editor. E.Harding. " pp.124. 8vo.
1801 V.Knox, editor. ? " Ele.Extracts.

130 1801.

Comus was written by Milton, acted at Ludlow Castle, in 1634, and printed by Henry Lawes in 1637. The next year, J. Hughs brought out a second edition. The Mask became at once a part of the Poems on Several Occasions(1645). As such alone was it printed for exactly one hundred years. In 1738, it was adapted for the stage, in three acts, by the Rev. John Dalton. This adaptation was popular both on the stage and on the market, resulting in many editions, and one or more attempts later to share the glory that came to Dr. Dalton.

Dodsley's edition in 1741 was the sixth, and in all probability the adaptation was printed by him in other editions

in 1739 and 1740. There seems also to have been an edition in 1744, for Bell's edition in 1799 is said to follow the Adaptation of 1744. It is note-worthy, that this popular Adaptation seems to have been the first of Milton's Minor Poems published in Ireland, and this event occurred when the poem was about one hundred years old.

It may have been the popularity of this early Adaptation that provoked some conservative spirit to brin, out an edition of of the original text of the Ludlow Masque in 1747. This edition seems, however, not to have hindered the popularity of the Dapton Adaptation, which continued to re-appear at intervals to the very end of the century.

In 1772, George Colman transformed Milton's Comus into a Masque of two acts, for the Theatre-Royal in Covent Garden. The music for this Masque was composed by Dr. Arne; but even this excellent support of music did not enable this Adaptation to attain the measure of popularity enjoyed by that of Dr.Dalton.

From this account, it appears that the original Comus was printed sixty-three times, and the several adaptations eighteen times, making a total of eighty-one editions for Comus during the period covered by this discussion.

Section 5. Publication of Lycidas.

Lycidas never had many attractions for the stage, though there was an unsuccessful attempt to turn it into a "musical entertainment" on one occasion. The poem was, however, more popular in the miscellaneous collections of poetry than

any of the Minor Poems thus far considered. Lycidas, in various ways, appeared as follows.

1638 Lycidas, Memorial Volume. T.Buck & R.Daniel. Cambridge.

A1	1645	17	1695[14]	19	1698	21	1707
9	1673	18	1695	20	1708	23	1713

1716 Dryden's Miscellany. 4th. ed.(Inserted by Fenton).

25	1720	26	1721	28	1725	29	1727

1727 Dryden's Miscellany. 5th. ed.

31	1730	53	1752	69	1761	90	1774
32	1731	54	1752	70	1762	91	1775
37	1741	55	1753	71	1763	95	1776
38	1742	56	1753	75	1766	97	1777
39	1743	60	1755	76	1767[15]	100	1779
41	1747	61	1756	80	1770	102	1782
42	1752	63	1758	85	1772	104	1785
43	1747	64	1758	86	1773	105	1785
49	1751	65	1759	87	1773		
52	1752	66	1760	88	1773		

1789 Knox's Elegant Extracts. ed. 1809. Book iv. No.3.

108	1790	109	1790	111	1791	113	1793

1793 Ritson's English Anthology. I,45. (Has 1 sonnet).

119	1797[16]	122	1796	123	1796	130	1801

1801 Knox's Elegant Extracts.

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14. In 1694, Lycidas was translated into Latin by W. Hog, and printed in quarto, pp. 19.

15. In 1767, there was printed, Lycidas: a Musical Entertainment, As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. The Words altered from Milton. By W.Jackson. London. 8vo.

"Milton's Lycidas is here applied to the late breach made in the Royal Family, by the death of the Duke of York. The design was absurd, and the performance was treated as such a piece of impertinence deserved." The idea of "mourning amusements" was ridiculed. Mo.Rev.Nov.,1767. 37: 393.

16. In 1797, J. Plumptre published Miltonis Poema Lycidas, Graece redditum. pp. 27. Cambridge. 4to.

Section C. Publication of the Companion Poems.

L'Allegro and Il Penseroso.

By far the most popular of Milton Minor Poems during the eighteenth century were the Companion Poems, L'Allegro and Il Penseroso. But with all their popularity, these poems were published in very few separate editions, as is indicated in the following list, where both poems appear together unless otherwise indicated.

A1 1645 | 17 1695 | 19 1696 | 21 1707
9 1673 | 18 1695 | 20 1705 | 23 1713

1716 Dryden's Miscellany. 4th. ed. (By Fenton).

25 1720 | 26 1721 | 28 1727 | 29 1727

1727 Dryden's Miscellany. 5th. ed.

31 1730 | 32 1731

1740 Jennens-Handel Adaptation.
1740 " " " "Another edition."

37 1741 | 39 1743 | 42 1752
38 1742 | 41 1747 | 43 1747

1750 Jennens-Handel Adaptation. London. 8vo.
1751 L'Allegro-Il Penseroso.pp.22. Foulis,Glasgow. 4to.

49 1751

1752 L'Allegro, Translated into Latin, with English Text. By Christopher Smart. Poems on Several Occasions, 2v. 8vo. 1752. vol. II, 113 ff.

52 1752 | 53 1752 | 54 1752 | 55 1753 | 56 1753

1754 Jennens-Handel Adaptation(With Dryden's Song for St.
1754 " " "(Cecilia's Day. Tonson. 4to.pp.20.

60 1755 | 63 1758 | 65 1759 | 67 1761 | 71 1763
61 1756 | 64 1758 | 66 1760 | 70 1762 | 75 1766

1763 Smart's Poems on Several Occasions. 4to.
1766 Translation into French.
1767 Goldsmith's The Beauties of English Poesy. Nos.2-3.

76 1767 85 1772 87 1773 90 1774 95 1776
80 1770 86 1773 88 1773 91 1775

1776 Goldsmith's The Beauties of English Poesy.

97 1777 100 1779

1779 Jennens-Handel Adaptation. (Warton's Milton, 1791, xii)
1782 Translation into German Prose. English opposite. pp. 31. 8vo. Mannheim.

102 1782 104 1785 105 1785

1789 Knox's Elegant Extracts.

108 1790 109 1790 111 1791

1791 Poems of the late..C.Smart. 2v. Reading. 16mo.
1793 Ritson's English Anthology. I. 32, 38.

113 1793

1794 J.Roach's Beauties of the Poets of Gr.Brit. v. 3.
1795 Smart's Poems (Anderson, 11:185). Only Latin Trans.

119 1797 122 1796 123 1796

1799 T.Warton, Account of the Origin of Comus, with Comus and Companion Poems. London. 8vo.

1801 Knox's Elegant Extracts.

130 1801

L'Allegro and Il Penseroso were written during Milton's quiet retirement at his father's home at Horton. They seem, however, not to have been printed until the Poems on Several Occasions, in 1645. From that setting, they were first removed for the fifth edition of Dryden's Miscellany in 1716.

In 1740, these poems were re-arranged by Charles Jennens (1700-1773), and set to music by his friend, Mr. Handel,

when Thomas Warton thought more honoured than honouring in this having his music married to immortal verse.[17] This oratorio arrangement of the poems was very popular, and the poems in this form went through many separate editions, as shown in the preceding list. Handel's name was often associated with this connection between his music and Milton's popular poems, and it may have been the reputation of this combination that led to the translation of the Companion Poems into French (1766), and into German (1782).

In 1751, R. & A. Foulis printed, in Glasgow, what seems to have been the only edition of the Companion Poems, apart from the adaptations, that was separately printed during the period under discussion. In all their forms, these poems appeared in print, according to the above tabulation, seventy-nine times up to the year 1801.

Section 7. Publication of the Smaller Pieces of Milton's Minor Poems.

It is sufficient to make only a general mention of these smaller pieces of Milton's poetry. Very early most of them were gathered into the Poems on Several Occasions, in 1645. Some of them, of course, were written later, and additions were made to the second edition of the Minor Poems in 1673. Some additions were made in later editions of the Poetical Works, but none have been noticed after the edition of 1711-13.

17. Milton's Poems on Sev. Occs. ed. 1791. p. xii.

Few of these smaller poems ever appeared otherwise than in combination with the other Minor Poems. In 1698, Julii Mazirini, Cardinalis, Epitaphium: Authore John Milton was included in Gildon's Miscellaneous Poems on Several Occasions. Ten years later (1708), Directions to a Painter concerning the Dutch War: by Sir John Denham, 1667, appeared in Poems on State Affairs; but the editor claimed that this poem was "believed to be writ by Mr. Milton."[18]

The Latin and Italian poems of Milton came to have considerable interest before the end of the eighteenth century. The Latin poems were not granted the rank of classical poetry without considerable debate. For the non-Latin reading public some of these were translated into English, and printed in that form. In this form Mansus appeared among the poems of the Rev. Joseph Sterling, a student and imitator of Milton, about the year 1789; but the translation was neither faithful to the original nor otherwise possessed of much merit.[19]

In 1776, Milton's Italian Poems had been "translated, and addressed to a Gentleman of Italy." This was the work of the Rev. John Langhorne, who addressed his Translations to Sig. Mozzi, of Macerata, an Italian Gentleman of taste and genius. Contemporary criticism was favourable to the publication, exalting both Milton's excellence in the use of foreign languages, and Dr. Langhorne's ability to produce an elegant version in the spirit of the original.[20]

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18. Poems on Affairs of State. 5th. Ed. 1702. I, 84 and "Index."
19. Poems by the Rev. J- S-. Gr. Rev. May, 1789. 67: 368.
20. Milton's Italian Poems, &c. T.Becket. London, 4to. 1776. pp.16. Mo.Rev. Nov.,1776. 55:373-5. Gr.Rev. Nov.,1776. 42:389. See Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 1810. 16: 469-3, 473-5.

Thomas Warton concerned himself in the Latin and Italian poems of Milton to the extent of almost two hundred pages in his editions of the Minor Poems in 1785 and 1791. Between the two editions by Warton, Philip Neve, in his Cursory Remarks (1789), took pains to emphasize the large biographical content of these poems, and to indicate some Latin and Italian sources.[21] In 1791, the poet William Cowper began a complete poetical translation of the Latin-Italian poems of Milton for the Cowper-Hayley edition of Milton's Complete Poetical Works, which was published in 1794-7.[22] This work seems to have taxed the strength of the poet, whose health at the time was declining, and much interesting matter on the progress and difficulties of the work appeared in his Letters to various friends.

Section 8. Publication of Milton's English Poems in Latin and Greek Translations.

The translation of Milton into the Classical Languages began early, and resulted in several separate editions of his more important poems. Here, as usual, however, the Major Epic absorbed the larger share of interest.

Paradise Lost, Book I., was translated, by Mr. Power, into Latin and published in 1686, and again in 1691. The Translation seems to have been completed, published in folio 1692,

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21. Philip Neve, Cursory Remarks (1789). pp. 116-120.
22. The Poetical Works of Wm. Cowper, 3 vols. edited by J.Bruce, 1896. vol. III, 147-214, for these Translations.

and a copy of it presented, by Dr. Bentley, to the Trinity College Library.[23] The whole of Paradise Lost, together with Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes, was translated by W. Hog, in 1690.[24]

Another complete Translation of Paradise Lost was published in 1702. This was the work of M. Bold, which reappeared in 1717, and in a quarto edition in 1736. In the year 1736, Richard Dawes (1708-1766) produced a Greek translation of Paradise Lost, Book I., which for want of popularity was called in by the author.[25] Perhaps earlier than this Greek version, Samuel Say (1676-1743) had translated the opening part of Paradise Lost into Latin hexameter.[26] Robert Pitt, a brother to Christopher Pitt, was elected fellow of Wadham in 1719, and displayed scholarly taste in a Translation into Latin of five books of Milton's Paradise Lost.[27]

In 1741-44, Joseph Trapp (1679-1747) published, at his own expense and heavy loss, a ponderous two volume Translation of Paradise Lost into Latin.[28] More successful was the two volume edition by William Dobson, which appeared in 1750-53. This was pronounced "a great work, whether we regard the sublimity and excellence of the original poem, or its length,

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23. Nichols, Lit. Illus. I, 80.
24. Printed by John Darby, London. 8vo. 1690. pp.xxxvi, 510.
25. Gr. Rev. May, 1782. 53: 353-4.
26. Poems... Two Essays. Pub. 1745.
27. T. Seccombe, D.N.B. "Chr. Pitt."
28. Gent. Mag. June, 1744. 14: 344. W.P.Courtney. D.N.B."Trapp."

and the frequent difficulty of translating it." This work was said to have been "executed in a happy manner." [29] Fourteen year later the Critical Review thought that Dobson "deserves a public reward from his country, for having extended and immortalized the fame of the great English poet Milton, in his admirable Translation of Paradise Lost." [30]

In perfect harmony with the above sentiment, was that of Dr. James Beattie, when he affirmed that "many of the finest performances of Pope, Dryden, and Milton, have appeared not ungracefully in a Roman Dress." [31] That these Translations really had some measure of general interest, was evident from the fact, that The Gentleman's Magazine planned to print specimens from six translations for general comparison. Five only were printed, at first, and some of those indicated translations other than those considered in the preceding discussion. [32] After the mid-century, no new Latin version of either Epic seems to have appeared. But another attempt was made, by Mr. Stratford, to translate Paradise Lost, Book I., into Greek, which was printed, with Dobson's Latin Text, in 1770. [33]

Besides the Translation of Samson Agonistes (1690), this Tragedy was translated into Greek, by G. H. Glasse, and published from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1788. The work called for an extended Review, which has been inserted in one of the British Museum copies.

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29. Mo.Rev. Feb., 1754. 10: 136-144.
30. Cr.Rev. July, 1757. 4: 90.
31. On the Utility of Classical Learning. Essay on Truth. ed.1777. vol. II. 521-522.
32. Gent. Mag. Oct.& Dec.,1746. 16: 548-549, 661.
33. Paradisi Amissi &c. Pp.147. S. Powell, Dublin. 1770. 4to.

The Minor Poems have inspired comparatively little activity along this line. Lycidas seems to have been translated into Latin in 1638, and again, by W. Hog, in 1694. Lycidas was also translated into Greek by the Rev. J. Plumptre, in 1797; but the edition was unfavourably received.[34] Comus was translated by W. Hog in 1698, and published in a forty-seven page quarto in London. The L'Allegro was translated into Latin by Christopher Smart (1722-1771), and printed in three editions of his own poems (1752, 1763, 1791), and in Anderson's British Poets (11:185). No translation of Il Penseroso into either Latin or Greek has been found in the present investigation.

Section 9. Publication of Milton's Prose Works.

The Prose Writings of Milton, according to the "Chronological List of Works," given by John P. Anderson, in Richard Garnett's Life of John Milton (1890), were first published under the following dates:

1641 Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England.
1641 Of Prelatical Episcopacy.
1641 Animadversions upon....defence against Smectymnuus.
1641 Reason of Church-Government urg'd against Prelaty.
1641 Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation.
1643 Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.
1644 Of Education. To Master S. Hartlib.
1644 The Judgment of Martin Bucer, now Englisht.
1644 Areopagitica.
1644 Tetrachordon.
1645 Colasterion.

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34. See Section 5, Notes 14-16, above; and Mo. Rev. June, 1798. 107(26): 227.

1649 Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.
1649 Observations upon the Articles of Peace with Irish
1649 Eikonoklastes. (Rebels.
1651 Pro populo Anglicano defensio contra Salmasium.
1653 Letter touching the Dissolution of the late Parliament.
1654 Pro populo Anglicano defensio secunda.
1655 Scriptum Dom-Protectoris contra Hispanos.
1655 Pro se defensio contra A. Morum.
1659 Treatise on Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.
1659 The Likeliest means to remove hireling. out of Church.
1660 Ready and easy way to establish a free Commonwealth.
1669 Accedence commenc't Grammar.
1670 History of Britain.
1672 Artis Logicae plenior Institutio.
1673 Of true Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration, &c.
1674 Epistolarum familiarium liber.
1674 Declaration or Letters Patents of the Election of this present King of Poland, John the Third.
1676 Literae Pseudo-Sanatus Anglicani, Cromwellii, &c.
1681 Character of the Lon. Parliament and Assembly of
1682 Brief History of Moscovia. (Divines in 1641.

The English portion of these Works was gathered into a 568 page folio volume, which was called The Works of John Milton, London, 1697. The next year, A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton, both English and Latin; with some Papers never before Published, was edited, with a Life of Milton, by John Toland. This was a three volume folio edition, published, according to the title-page, in Amsterdam, though the work was probably done in London. The next complete edition of the Prose Works was that edited, with a Life of Milton, by Thomas Birch, and printed in two volumes folio, by A. Millar, London, 1738. This work appeared in a second edition, re-edited, with the assistance of Richard Baron, in three volumes folio, printed by Millar, in 1753.

The "Familiar Letters" of Milton were first collected and published by Prabazon Aylmar, with seven of Milton's College Exercises (in Latin), at the "Three Pigeons" in Corn-

Hill, in the year of the Poet's death (1674). These pieces were published under the conviction that at that time anything from Milton would sell. Aylmar's original plan was to have published Milton's Public Letters also as a part of this edition. But the Foreign Office of Charles II. prevented the carrying out of this plan because of aversion to the publication of these Public Letters.(Masson, I, 204).

These Public Letters were, however, later collected and published, with a Life of Milton, by his nephew, Edward Phillips, as Letters of State, Written by John Milton, To most of the Sovereign Princes and Republicks of Europe. From the Year 1649 Till the Year 1659, in the year 1694. Another publication of the Original Letters and Papers of State, Found among the Political Collections of Milton, in folio, by Jo. Nichols, Jr., appeared in February, 1743.[35] Beyond these collected editions, already considered, the Prose Works of Milton appeared only in separate publications of the several pieces, until the great seven volume editions, with Translations and Critical Remarks by C. Symmons, from the press of J. Johnson, in 1806.

Apparently the most popular of Milton's single Letters were the Epistola ad Pollio and the Scriptum dom. Protectoris ..... contra Hispanos (1655). The former of these was printed in folio, by T. Cooper, in two editions 1738, and another edition of the Latin appeared in 1774. It was also translated from the Latin, and illustrated with Notes, in a

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35. Gent.Mag. Feb.,1743. 13:112. This work has not been seen, and it is not known to contain anything written by Milton.

folio edition, London, 1740. The Manifesto against Spain dated from October 26, 1655, and was translated into German in the same year. It was printed in English Translation in three editions, 1738, 1740, and 1741.

Milton's History of Britain, with its fundamental doctrine of virtue and liberty,[36] was first published in 1670, but that part of it which described the "Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines, in 1641," was expunged by the Licenser. This rejected portion, later restored to the History, was included in the Harleian Miscellany (vol. v.) in 1744. The History itself was reprinted in octavo, London, 1677, 1678, and 1695, and in folio in 1706, and again in 1719. The frequent references to this History indicate that it was rather widely read during the eighteenth century.[37]

The Eikonoklastes, after its first publication in 1649, was reprinted in 1650, translated into French, by John Dury, under the sanction and supervision of Milton in 1652, ordered suppressed August 13, 1660, reprinted in 1690, and edited in 1756 by Richard Baron, whose edition was printed again, for the benefit of his family, in 1770.

The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce was published in 1643, and again in 1644, and 1645. Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirlings out of the Church, after the original edition in 1659, appeared as a supplement to Du

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36. "The inseparable connection between liberty and virtue was the fundamental doctrine of Milton's political pamphlets as well as his History, and he emphasized it both in Paradise Lost and Para. Regained. C.H.Firth, Milton as an Historian. Pro. Br. Acad.1907-8. p.257.

37. Appendix A .

Moulin's treatment of the same subject in 1632, and in separate editions in 1717, and 1723. The Discource upon the Harmony of the Spheres was printed, in Translation, by Francis Peck, in his New Memoirs of Milton (1740).

The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth (1660) was included in the Harleian Miscellany (vol.iv) in 1744, and was printed separately by Ridgeway in 1791. The anonymous editor of this last edition was very enthusiastic over this pamphlet of Milton, both for its intrensic worth, and because "it furnishes a rational and satisfactory answer to the splendid sophistry of Edmund Burke." To all this enthusiasm, a critic of the work replied, "If it be democracy, it is not liberty." [38]

The Areopagitica appeared in the following editions separately printed:

1644	Original edition.	London. 4to.
1738	Printed by A. Millar,	London. 8vo.
1772	Another edition.	London. 8vo.
1780	With Blackburne's Remarks on Johnson.	16mo.
1791	James Losh, editor.	London. 8vo.
1792	?	Blamire. 8vo.
1793	Robert Hall, editor.	Robinsons. 8vo.

Besides these editions, there was a very popular imitation of the treatise, entitled, Sur la liberte de la Presse, imite de l' anglais de Milton. Par le Comte de Mirabeau. Londres (Paris?), 1788. Another edition was printed the next year; and there

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seems to have been another such work in 1789, with a second edition in 1792.

Archdeacon Blackburne included the Areopagitica and the Tractate of Education in his Remarks on Johnson's Life of Milton because he felt that these two writings of Milton were not as well known as they deserved to be. But when the edition of 1792 came out, the Critical Review said, "This tract is so exceedingly well known, that all commendation of it must be superfluous."[39]

The Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio was published in 1651, with succeeding editions in 1651(3), 1652, and 1658. The work was burned in France soon after its publication, and in London, by the common hangman, August 13, 1660, along with the Eikonoklastes. It survived the persecution, however, and was translated into English, by Joseph Washington, an English lawyer, in 1692.[40] After this date, it became a permanent part of Milton's Prose Works. No other separate edition of the work has been noticed until the time of the French Revolution. In 1789, there was printed in Paris the Théorie de la Royauté d'après la Doctrine de Milton. This was a translation from the Defensio , by J. B. Salaville(?), with a preliminary dissertation "Sur Milton et ses ouvrages," which was attributed to Mirabeau. There was probably a close connection between this work and the French Revolution.

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39. Cr. Rev. Jan., 1793. n.s. 7: 106.

40. Joseph Washington was the son of a wealthy merchant, Robert Washington, of Leeds. He was a friend to Lord Somers, and a collateral ancestor of General George Washington of the early American Colonies (Allibone).
This Translation was made, according to the Printer's Advertisement, "partly for (Washington's) own private

By far the most printed piece of all Milton's Prose, was the Tractate of Education, which was addressed to Samuel Hartlib in 1644. The multiplication of appearances in the case of this Tractate was due to the fact, that it was added to the Poems on Several Occasions in 1673, and tended to remain a part of that collection, which was usually appended to Paradise Regained.

1644 Original edition. Printer and place not given. 4to.
A9 1673

1698 Prose Works, edited by Toland.

83 1713 85 1720

1723 T. Lefevre, A Compendious Way of Teaching Ancient and Modern Languages. J.Downing,London. 8vo. pp.99-116.

28 1725 29 1727 31 1730 33 1731

1738 Prose Works, edited by T. Birch. I. 135-140.

37 1741 39 1743 42 1752 49 1751
38 1742 41 1747 43 1747

1750 T. Le Fevre, A Compendious Way &c. For W. Meadows, London. 4th. edition. 8vo. pp. 126-148.
1751 An Essay on Education. C.Corbett, London. 8vo.
1752 German edition.

53 1752 54 1752 55 1753 56 1753

1753 Prose Works, edited by Birch and Baron.

60 1755 61 1756 66 1760

1761 Essays on Education, by Milton, Locke, & the Spectator

71 1763? 75 1766 85 1772 108 1790

1780 With Blackburne's Remarks on Johnson.
1781 German edition, with Paradise Regained &c.

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40 continued.

entertainment, and partly to gratify one or two of his friends, without any design of making it public." But the Translation was published, soon after Washington's death in 1691? It showed the tenor of feeling in the Washington Family, and established a probable link between Milton's influence and the cause of American Liberty. Sparks, Life of George Washinton. Boston, 1855. pp. 500-501.

The above list shows, besides the two German editions, thirty-four editions of the Tractate in England. But the 1750 edition, by Le Fevre, was the fourth of that work, which seems to imply two other editions of the Tractate, making a total of thirty-six times for that treatise to appear before 1801. The very tenacity with which this prose tag adhered to the Minor Poems, as arranged by Milton in 1673, was an expression of that feeling of semi-sacredness which attached itself to everything to which Milton had set his hand.

The separate edition of 1751, published by Corbett, has the interest of being "dedicated to the Earl of Harcourt, governor to the Prince of Wales and Prince Edward."[41] The Essays on Education, by Milton, Locke, and the Authors of the Spectator (1761), were edited by R. Wynne, who added "Observations on the Ancient and Modern Languages." Both of the great Reviews agreed that this volume brought together the thought of the most considerable moderns writers on the important subject of education.[42] Archdeacon Blackburne added the Tractate to his Remarks, for the reason that it

> "was grown scarce, being omitted in some editions, both of the author's prose and poetical works; but highly worthy (it is) to be preserved as prescribing a course of discipline, which, though out of fashion in these times, affords many useful lessons to those who may have abilities and courage enough to adopt some of those improvements, of which the modes of learned education in present practice are confessedly susceptible."[43]

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41. Gent. Mag. July, 1751. 21: 335.
42. Mo. Rev. July, 1761. 25:76. Cr. Rev. June, 1761. 11:500.
43. Remarks on Johnson's Life of Milton. 1780. p. v.

The foregoing lists of the publications may be summarized as follows, though figures after 1800 are not very reliable as to completeness.

	Para. Lost.	Para. Regrd.	Samson	Comus	Lycidas	Comp. Poems	P.I. & Ist-Ch.	Prose Works	History Engld.	Miscellaneous	Tracts on Episcopacy	Milton	Areopagitica	Pro Populo	Translat.
To 1680	3	3	3	4	4*	2		1	3	3	1	2	1	[illegible]	2
1680-90	1	2*	2*				2			1					
1690-00	4	3	3	4*	4*	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	1
1700-10	3	2	2	2	2	2	1		1						
1710-20	3	2	2	2	3	3	1		1			1			2
1720-30	6	3	4	4	5	5	1					1			4
1730-40	5	2	1	5	1	3	3?	1		1	1	1	2	1	2
1740-50	10	6	10	9	5	6	2?	1			1				6
1750-60	13	12	15	14	13	8*	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	12
1760-70	16	6	8	7	7	10*	2			1					3
1770-80	14	12	9	14	9	11							2		2
1780-90	7	4	5	8	6	7								1	2
1790-01	16	8	6	12	9*	14*					1		3		
1801-10**	15	8			8***										
1810-20	11	4			4										
1820-30	7	5			4										
1830-40	6	5			4										
1840-43	2	2			2										

* Includes Latin and Greek Translations
** Br. Mus. Cat., after Anderson.
*** Minor Poems.

In these facts of the publication of Milton's works, a few points of interest are prominent. There was an obvious tendency to publish the significant parts of the Prose Works in connection with the revolutionary movements of the period under consideration. The Poetry, however, showed a more even increase in volume, rising high at the middle of the eighteenth century, and maintaining itself throughout the Romantic Movement.

Throughout the period, Paradise Lost was the poem of central interest, far more than the final summary would seem to indicate, although the summary shows the editions of Paradise Lost, as a rule, greatly to exceed in number those of any other part of the Poetry. In seventeen title-pages of the Poetical Works, everything is subordinated to Paradise Lost, in a manner apparently designed to catch the public eye. In twelve title-pages, the Minor Poems are likewise "added to" Paradise Regained, as pointed out on page 31 above. Some of these title-pages represent multiplied editions of the poems. and the poetical works. The subordination of the Minor Poems was further emphasized in the fact, that they multiplied the editions not as poems, but as adapted into entertainments.

The truth, whatever its bearings upon the Milton question, is that the English people of this period invested their Milton-money pre-eminently in Paradise Lost. The amount of money thus expended, if correctly known, would present figures that would stagger the imagination.

CHAPTER III . POETICAL TRIBUTES TO MILTON.

One begins to enter into the full current of a great national influence when he reads the heart of poets, the mind of critics, and the problems of historians, who profoundly feel and profoundly study the tendencies of their times. The common rabble may feel the throbbing impulse of national enthusiasm. They may fall, even blindly, into the full current of great national movements. They may exalt a national hero, or saint, or poet, to the pinnacle of idolatry. But it requires penetrating genius, and careful scholarship, to analyze and direct, and adequately express the real cause that gives rise to such enthusiastic national movements.

Turning now to the poets of this period, who have felt their way deep into the heart of Miltonic interests, one may hear, even from Milton's own day, a definite, harmonious, and persistent note of poetic praise that is full of significance.

The earliest Tributes belong to the period of Milton's Minor Poetry, and come from the genial land of Italy, where Milton was known and admired, if not really loved. Some of them are given here in the English translation by William Cowper, as furnishing a significant compass at once of the entire period under consideration. The other Tributes follow, approximately at least, in their chronological order.

1. What features, form, mien, manners, with a mind
1645. Oh how intelligent, and how refined!
Were but thy piety from fault as free,
Thou wouldst no Angle but an Angel be.

2. Meles and Mincio both your urns depress!
1645. Sebetus boast henceforth thy Tasso less!
But let the Thames o'erpeer all floods since he,
For Milton famed, shall, single, match the three.

3. Greece sound thy Homer's, Rome thy Virgil's name,
1645. But England's Milton equals both in fame.

4. In Ocean's blazing flood enshrined,
1645. Whose vassal tide around her swells,
Albion, from other realms disjoined,
The prowess of the world excels;
She teems with heroes that to glory rise,
With more than human force in our astonished eyes.

To Virtue, driven from other lands,
Their bosoms yield a safe retreat;
Her law alone their deed commands,
Her smiles they feel divinely sweet;
Confirm my record, Milton, generous youth!
And by true virtue prove thy virtue's praise a truth.
.....
Babel confused, and with her towers
Unfinished spreading wide the plain,
Has served but to evince thy powers,
With all her tongues confused in vain,
Since not alone thy England's purest phrase
But every polished realm thy various speech displays.

The secret things of heaven and earth,
By Nature, too reserved, concealed
From other minds of highest worth,
To thee are copiously revealed;
Thou knowest them clearly, and thy views attain
The utmost bounds prescribed to moral truth's domain.
.....
Give me, that I may praise thy song,
.....
I who beside the Arno strain
To match thy merit with my lays,
Learn, after many an effort vain,
To admire thee rather than to praise;
And that by mute astonishment alone,
Not by the faltering tongue, thy worth may best be shown.

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1. The Neapolitan, John Baptist Manso, To The Englishman, John Milton. 2. John Salsillo of Rome, An Epigram..To John Milton. 3. Selvaggi, To John Milton. 4. Signior Antonio Francini, An Ode.
All published by Milton, with an apology, in his Poems, 1645. Translated by Wm.Cowper, 1791 &c, and published in Wm. Hayley's edition of Milton's Poems trans'd by Cowper, 1802, pp. 2-7. See Cowper's Poetical Works (J.Bruce), 3 vols., 1896. III. 139-146.

5. As he, who fought at Barriers with Salmasius,
167 . Engag'd with nothing but his Stile and Phrases;
Wav'd to assert the Murther of a Prince,
The Author of false Latin to convince;
But laid the Merits of the Cause aside,
By those, that understood them, to be try'd
And counted breaking Priscian's Head a thing
More capital, than to behead a King,
For which h' has been admir'd by all the Learn'd,
Of Knaves concern'd, and Pedants unconcerned.

6. O Thou, the wonder of the present age,
Wr.B4 An age immers'd in luxury and vice;
1674. A race of triflers; who can relish nought,
But the gay issue of an idle brain;
How could'st thou hope to please this tinsel race!
Though blind, yet, with the penetrating eye
Of intellectual light, thou dost survey
The labyrinth perplex'd of Heaven's decrees;
And with a quill pluck'd from an Angel's wing,
Dipt in the fount that leaves the eternal throne,
Trace the dark paths of Providence Divine,
And justify the ways of God to man.

7. Qui legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
1674. Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cincta legis? &c.

8.
1674. When I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold,
Messiah crowned, God's reconciled decree,
Rebelling angels, the forbidden tree,
Heaven, hell, earth, chaos, all; the argument
Held me awhile misdoubting his intent,
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song,
(So Samson groped the temple's post in spite)
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his sight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I liked his project, the success did fear;
Through that wide field how he his way should find,
O'er which lame faith leads understanding blind;
Lest he perplex the things he would explain,
And what was easy he should render vain.

Or if a work so infinite he spanned,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excel)

---

5. Saml Butler(1612-1680). Fragment of an intended Sec. Part of the...Satyr. After Hudibras(Masson, Milton. 6:636). Genuine Remains (R.Thyer). 1759. I. 220.

6. "F(rancis)C(radock). 1680." Member with Milton of the Rota Club. To Mr.John Milton, On.....Par.Lost. Fawkes & Woty, The Ptl. Calendar, 8: 69. H.J.Todd, Life of Milton, 1826, 199-200.

7. Saml. Barrow, M.D. In Paradisum Amissam summi Poetae

Might hence presume the whole creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.
Pardon me, mighty poet, nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinced, and none will dare
Within thy labours to pretend a share.
Thou hast not missed one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit;
So that no room is here for writer's left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.
That majesty which through thy work doth reign
Draws the devout, deterring the profane;
And things divine thou treat'st of in such state
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horror on us seize,
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease,
And above human flight dost soar aloft,
With plumes so strong, so equal, and so soft:
A bird named from that paradise you sing
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.
Where could'st thou words of such a conpass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expanse of mind?
Just Heaven thee, like Tiresias, to requite,
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.
Well mightst thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure,
While the Town-Bayes writes all the while, and spells,
And like a packhorse tires without his bells.
Their fancies like our bushy points appear:
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too, transported by the mode, offend,
And while I meant to praise thee, must commend;
Thy verse created like thy sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rhyme.

9 .....His age and fruit together ripe,
Wr.c. Of which blind Homer only was the type:
1674. Tirisias like, he mounted up on high,
And scorn'd the filth of dull mortality;
Convers'd with gods, and grac'd their royal line,
All ectasie, all rapture, all divine!
....
Daphnis, the great reformer of our isle!
Daphnis, the patron of the Roman stile!
.....
Who first to sense converted doggrel rhimes,
The Muses' bells took off, and stopt their chimes;

Joannis Miltoni. This poetical tribute was prefixed to the 1674 edition of Par. Lost, and have been many times reprinted with it.

8. Andrew Marvell(1620-1678). On Paradise Lost, prefixed to the 1674 edition. Poems of A. Marvell(G.A.Aitken). pp. 109-111.

9. Chas. Goodall(1671-1689). A Propitiatory Sacrifice to the Ghost of J. M., in a Dialogue between Thyrsis and Corydon. Poems by a late Scholar of Eaton, 1689, p. 115. H.J.Todd, Lf. of Milton,202.

On surer wings, with an immortal flight,
Taught us how to believe, and how to write!
. . . . . .
Even tombs of stone in time will wear away;
Brass pyramids are subject to decay;
But lo! the poet's fame shall brighter shine
In each succeeding age,
Laughing at the baffled rage
Of envious enemies and destructive time.

10. Wr. 1680. Milton, whose Muse with such daring Flight,
Led out the warring Seraphims to fight.

11. 1682. Let such a man begin without delay;
But he must do more than I can say,
Must above Cowley, nay, and Milton too prevail,
Succeed where great Torquato, and our greater Spenser fail.

12. 167 . Milton did the wealthy mine disclose,
And rudely cast what you could well dispose;
He roughly drewy on an old-fashioned ground,
A chaos; for no perfect world was found,
Till through the heap your mighty genius shined:
He was the golden ore which you refined.

13. 1682. To whom ev'n the fanatics altars raise,
Bow in their own despite, and grin your praise;
As if a Milton from the dead arose,
Fil'd off the rust, and the right party chose.

---

10. John Oldham (1653-1683). Bion. A Pastoral. On the Death of the Earl of Rochester. Poems & Trans, Lond.1684, p. 82.

11. John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham(1648-1721). An Essay Upon Poetry. Chalmers, Eng. Pts. 10: 91-94. Found also in J.E. Spingarn's Crit. Essays of the 17th. Cent. 2: 286-296.

The development of these lines, from the form here given, to that of their final revision, is parallel with the solidifying of nonservative national opinion in its gradual exaltation of Milton. The edition of 1713 reads,

Must above Milton's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where Spenser, and even Torquato fail.

Dr. Johnson observed this transition. He says, "At the time when this work first appeared, Milton's fame was not yet fully established, and therefore Tasso and Spenser were set before him.... .... The last line in succeeding editions was shortened, and the order of names continued; but now Milton is at last advanced to the highest place, and the passage thus adjusted (ed. 1723):

Must above Tasso's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where Spenser, and even Milton fail.

Dr. Johnson, Life of Sheffield. Cf. Spingarn, above, p. 356.

12.and 13. Nath. Lee(1653?-1692). Both addressed to Dryden: 12 on his State of Innocence, 13 on Absalom & Achitophel, and written probably in 1677 and 1682 respectively.

14. Have you forgot how Raphael's numerous prose
1684. Led our exalted souls thro' heavenly camps,
And mark'd the ground where proud apostate thrones
Defied Jehovah! (continues 27 lines of blank verse).
.....
Oh may I live to hail the glorious day,
And sing loud paeans through the crowded way,
When in triumphant atate the British Muse,
True to herself, shall barbarous aid refuse,
And in the Roman majesty appear,
Which none know better, and none come so near.

15. Now, in soft notes, like dying swans he'd sing,
1688. Now tower aloft, like eagles on the wing;
Speak of adventurous deeds in such a strain,
As all but Milton would attempt in vain;
And only there, where his rapt Muse does tell
How in the aetherial war the apostate Angels fell.

16. Three poets, in distant ages born,
1688. Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.
The first in loftiness of thought surpassed;
The next in majesty; in both the last.
The force of Nature could no further go;
To make a third, she joined the other two.

17. The Daring Muse unbeaten Paths shall tread,
1691. In Visionary Dreams of Rapture led,
Descend into the Region of the Dead,
Elysian Bow'rs, where Waller's well-tuned Lyre
The Art of Numbers shall instruct the Quire,
Where Milton on Eternal Roses lies,
Deep wrapt in Dreams of his own Paradise:
Th' adventurous Muse, with this kind vision charm'd,
.....
Shall question Fate, consult the Sacred Throng, &c.

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14. Wentworth Dillon, 4th. Earl of Roscommon(1633-1685). Essay On Translated Verse. 2nd. Ed. 1685. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 8: 264.

15. Anonymous. Poems to the Memory of Edm. Waller, Esq. H.J.Todd, Life of Milton, 1826, p. 201. Geo. Granville(1667-1735), Lord Lansdowne's poem To the Immortal Memory of Waller, and also his To Flavia, have allusions to Paradise, or Eden. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 11: 13, 17.

16. John Dryden(1631-1700). Epigram on Milton, placed under his portrait in the folio edition of 1688.

This Epigram was very popular in the 18th. Century and later. Walter Hamilton (Parodies, II. 233-236) gives 39 parodies of this Epigram. Others may be found in And's Br. Pts., 8:548 (by Wm.Pattison, 1728), and in Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 16:51(by.C.Smart, 1753).Cowper wondered that it had never been trans. into Latin, and undertook the task himself. (Letter To The Rev. Wm. Unwin, July 11, 1780. Cf.

17. Nahum Tate (1652-1715). A Poem, occasioned by the late Discontent and Disturbances in the State, 1691. Poems on Affairs of Sate, vol. iv. 285-309. p. 309.

18. Or mighty Milton walks thro' Paths untrod,
1692. And sings the ancient Wars of God.

19. Here reading how fond Adam was betray'd,
1694. And how by sin Eve's blast'd charms decay'd;
Our common loss unjustly you complain;
So small that part of it, which you sustain.

You still, fair mother, in your offspring trace
The stock of beauty destin'd for the race:
Kind Nature, forming them, the pattern took
From Heaven's first work, and Eve's original look.

You, happy saint, the serpent's power control:
Scarce any actual guilt defiles your soul:
And Hell does o'er that mind vain triumph boast,
Which gains a Heaven, for earthly Eden lost.

With virtue strong as your had Eve been arm'd,
In vain the fruit had blushed, or serpent charmed;
Nor had our bliss by penitence been bought;
Nor had frail Adam fall'n, nor Milton wrote.

20. See here how bright the first-born virgin shone,
1694. And how the first fond lover was undone.
Such charming words, our beauteous Mother spoke,
As Milton wrote, and such as yours her look.
Yours, the best copy of th' original face,
Whose beauty was to furnish all the race:
Such chains no other could escape but he;
There's no way to be safe, but not to see.

21. But Milton next, with high and haughty stalk,
1694. Unfettered in majestic numbers walks:
Apr.3. No vulgar hero can his Muse engage;
Nor earth's wide scene confine his hallow'd rage.
See! See! he upwards springs, and towering high
Spurns the dull province of mortality,
Shakes Heaven's eternal throne with dire alarms,
And sets the Almighty thunderer in arms.
Whate'er his pen describes I more than see,
Whilst every verse, arrayed in majesty,
Bold and sublime, my whole attention draws,
And seems above the critic's nicer laws.
How are you struck with terrour and delight,
When angel with arch-angel copes in fight!
When great Messiah's outspread banner shines,
How does the charriot rattle in his lines!

---

18. The Athenian Mercury, Sept. 17, 1692. Ath. Oracle.1.270.

19. Matt. Prior (1664-1721). To The Lady Dursley. Written in her Paradise Lost.

20. Same. To The Countess of Dorset. Written in her Milton. Probably in her special copy of the 1688 edition. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 10: 134. Prior's Poems, Aldine Ed., I. 38, 39.

21. Joseph Addison (1672-1719). An Acct. of the Greatest English Poets. To Mr. Henry Sacheverell, April 3, 1694. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 9: 529-530.

What sound of brazen-wheels, what thunder, scare,
And stun the reader with the din of war!
With fear my spirits and my blood retire,
To see the seraph sunk in clouds of fire;
But when, with eager steps, from hence I rise,
And view the first gay scenes of Paradise;
What tongue, what words of rapture can express
A vision so profuse of pleasantness!
Oh had the poet ne'er profaned his pen,
To varnish o'er the guilt of faithless men;
His other works might have deserved applause!
But now the language can't support the cause;
While the clean current, though serene and bright,
Betrays a bottom odious to the sight.

22. Hear then, great bard, who can alike inspire
1694? With Waller's softness, or with Milton's fire;
Whilst I, the meanest of the Muses' throng,
To thy just praises tune th' advent'rous song.
How am I filled with rapture and delight
When gods and mortals, mixed, sustain the fight!
Like Milton, then though in more polished strains,
The chariots rattle o'er the smoking plains.
What though archangel 'gainst archangel arms,
And highest Heaven resounds with dire alarms!
Doth not the reader with like dread survey
The wounded gods repuls'd with foul dismay?

23. These sacred lines with wonder we peruse
1698? And praise the flights of a seraphic Muse,
Till thy seditious prose provokes our rage,
And soils the beauties of thy brightest page.
Thus here we see transporting scenes arise,
Heaven's radiant host, and opening Paradise;
Then trembling view the dread abyss beneath,
Hell's horrid mansions, and the realms of Death.
Whilst here thy bold majestic numbers rise,
And range th' embattled legions of the skies,
With armies fill the azure plains of light,
And paint the lively terrours of the fight,
We owe the poet worthy to rehearse
Heaven's lasting triumphs in immortal verse.
But when thy impious mercenary pen
Insults the best of princes, best of men,
Our admiration turns to just disdain,
And we revoke the fond applause again.
Like the fall'n angels in their state,

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22. Lord Middlesex, ?Chas. Sackville (1638-1706), To Mr. Pope. On Reading Mr. Addison's Acct. of the Eng. Poets. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 12: 135.

23. Dr. Thos. Yalden(1670-1736). On The Re-Printing Milton's Prose Works with his Poems. Written in his Paradise Lost. Anderson, Br. Pts.,7: 762. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 11: 74.

Thou shar'dst their nature, insolence and fate:
To harps divine, immortal hymns they sung,
As sweet thy voice, as sweet thy lyre was strung.
As they did rebels to the Almighty grow,
So thou prophan'st his image here below.
Apostate Bard! may not thy guilty ghost,
Discover to its own terenal cost,
That as they Heaven, thou Paradise hast lost!

24. 1700. If this you can, your care you'll well bestow,
And some new Milton or a Spenser grow.

25. 1701. Why am I thus, of late, uneasy grown?
Why thus aside my best-loved Milton thrown?

26. 1701. But when some times we would unbend our care
From studies too abstracted and severe,
Then Poetry we read.
The lofty Milton was our usual choice,
Whose elevated, more than human voice,
Is tun'd to Angels' ears, is tun'd too high
For any theme but immortality.

27. 1703. With Waller our first Dawn of Light arose,
He did the Beauties of the Morn disclose:
Then Milton came, and Cowley blest our eyes;
With joy we saw the distant Glory rise:
But there remain'd some footsteps of the Night,
Dark Shadows still were intermixed with Light:
Those Shades the mighty Dryden chas'd away,
And show'd the Triumphs of refulgent Day.

28. 1703. Think not that to th' ancient Bards I am alone confin'd,
They please, but never shall engross my mind;
In modern Writers I can Beauties find.
Phoebus has been propitious to this Isle,
And on our Poets still is pleas'd to smile.
Milton was warm'd by his enliv'ning Fire,
Who Denham, Waller, Cowley, did inspire,
Roscommon too, whom the learn'd World admire.

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24. Saml. Wesley (1662-1735). An Epistle To A Friend Concerning Poetry. This and the next are from the Eng. Studien, 40: 182.

25. Saml. Say (1676-1742). An Essay on Milton's Verse. Poems on Sev. Occasions, 1745. Elegy the Second.

26. "W. S." An Epistle To Mr. W---- , Fellow of Trin. Coll. Cantab. A New Misc. of Original Poems, on Sev. Occasions, London, 1701. 29-33.

27. Lady Mary Chudleigh (1656-1710). To Mr. Dryden, on his Excellent Trans. of Virgil (1697). Poems on Sev. Occasions, London, 1703. 25-28. This was probably written about 1697.

28. Same, pp. 45-67.

29. 1703. Scarcely in Marvel's keen Remarks we find
Such energy of Wit and Reason join'd.
Great Milton's Shade with pleasure oft look'd down,
A Genius to applaud so like his own.

30. 1706. O Melody, the same
That kindled Mantuan fire, and rais'd Maeonian flame.

Nor are these sounds to British bards unknown,
Or sparingly reveal'd to one alone:
Witness sweet Spenser's lays:
And witness that immortal song,
As Spenser sweet, as Milton strong,
Which humble Boyne o'er Tiber's flood could raise,
And mighty William sing with well proportioned praise.

31. 1706. Give me the chariot whose diviner wheels
Mark their own route, and unconfin'd
Bound o'er the everlasting hills,
And lose the clouds below, and leave the stars behind.

Give me the Muse whose generous force,
Impatient of the reins,
Pursues an unattempted course,
Breaks all the critic's iron chains,
And bears to Paradise the raptur'd mind.

There Milton dwells. The mortal sung
Themes not presum'd by mortal tongue;
New terrours, or new glories shine
In every page, and flying scenes divine
Surprise the wondering sense, and draw our souls along.
Behold his Muse sent t' explore
The unapparent deep where waves of chaos roar,
And realms of night unknown before.
She trac'd a glorious path unknown,
Through fields of heavenly war, and seraphs overthrown,
Where his adventurous genius led:

Sovereign, she fram'd a model of her own,
Nor thank'd the living nor the dead.
The noble hater of degenerate rhyme
Shook off the chains, and built his verse sublime,
A monument too high for coupled sounds to climb.
He mourn'd the garden lost below;
(Earth is the scene for tuneful woe)
Now bliss beats high in all his veins,
Now the lost Eden he regains,
Keeps his own air, and triumphs in unrival'd strains.

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29. Nahum Tate (1652-1715). In Memory of Joseph Washington, Esq.; late of the Middle Temple, An Elegy. Poems on Affairs of State, 1703. I. 223-225. Washington died about 1691, near which time this was probably written. Sparks, Life of G.Wash., p.500.

30. Wm. Congreve (1670-1729). Ode (To the Queen). Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 10: 302-303.

31. Isaac Watts (1674-1748). The Adventurous Muse. Horae Lyricae. Book II. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 13: 58.

Immortal bard! Thus thy own Raphael sings, (e4)
And knows no rule but native fire:
All Heaven sits silent, while to his sovereign strings
He talks unutterable things.

32. Philips, by Phoebus and his Aldrich taught,
1707. Sings with that heat wherewith his Churchill fought,
Unfetter'd in great Milton's strain he writes,
Like Milton's angels whilst his hero fights;
Pursues the Bard, whilst he with honour can,
Equals the poets and excels the man.

33. Oh! might I paint him in Miltonian verse,
1708. With strains like those he sung on Glo'ster's herse;
But with the meaner tribe I'm forc'd to chime,
And, wanting strength to rise, descend to rhyme.
Rail on, ye triflers, who to Will's repair,
For new lampoons, fresh cant, or modish air;
Rail on at Milton's son, who, wiselt bold,
Rejects new phrases, and resumes the old.
Beyond his praise or blame thy works prevail,
Complete where Dryden and thy Milton fail;
Great Milton's wing on lower themes subsides,
And Dryden oft in rhyme his weakness hides.

34. Pomona see with Milton's grandeur rise,
1709. The most delicious fruit of Paradise,
Feb. With apples might the first-born man deceive,
And more persuasive voice than tempting Eve.
Not to confine you here.

35. All Hell resounds thy Name with loud applause,
1710. But above all, the Hot-brained Atheist Crew,
That ever Greece, or Rome, Britain knew,
Hobbes, Milton, Blount, Vanini with him join;
All equally Admire the Vast Design.

36. When Fancy makes unvulgar Flight her aim,
1711. Wing'd with this vigorous, clear, seraphic Flame,
She ranges Nature's universal Frame;
Bright Seeds of Thought from various Objects takes,

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32. Thos. Tickell (1686-1740). Oxford. A Poem. J.Nichols, A Sel. Col. of Pms. 1780. 5: 42. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 11: 130-134.

33. Edm.(Neale) Smith (1668-1710). A Poem To The Memory of Mr. John Philips. Anderson, Br. Pts., 6: 616-618. Lintot's Misc. Poems and Trans. 1712. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 9: 204-206.

34. Wm. King (1663-1712). The Art of Love: in Imitation of Ovid's De Arte Amandi. part xiii. Chalmers, Eng.Pts.,9: 279.

35. Abel Evans (1679-1737). The Apparition. A Poem. L. 1710.

36. Richard Blackmore (-1729). The Nature of Man. Edition, London, 1720. p. 17.

Whence her fair Scenes and Images she makes:
Spirits so swift, so fine, so bold, so strong,
Gave Milton Genius fit for Milton's song.

37. What though majestic Milton stands alone
?c. Inimitably great!
1712. Bow low, ye bards, at his exalted throne,
And lay your labours at his feet;
Capacious soul! whose boundless thoughts survey
Heaven, Hell, earth, sea;
Lo! where th' embattled gods appear,
The mountains from their seats they tear,
And shake th' empyreal Heavens with impious war.

38. While Milton's soaring fancy flies,
1712. And sings of feuds above the skies,
Pub. Dreadfully fills the heavenly plains,
With vanquished powers, cherubs stain
Surprized and trembling from afar,
We scarce behold th' immortal war:
Their fauchions formidably bright,
Their swords composed of beaten light;
And beamy arms with dreadful blaze
From each contending van amaze:
With dread we view th' apostate foe,
Plung'd in the deep abyss below.

39. The groves of Eden, vanish'd now so long,
1713. Live in description and look green in song:
These, were my breast inspir'd with flame,
Like them in beauty, should be like in fame.

40. The Muse with transport lov'd him; yet, to fill
?c. His Various lot, she blended good with ill;
1714. Deprived him of his eyes, but did impart
The heavenly gift of song, and all the tuneful art.

41. Look here, ye Pedants, who desrve that name,
1714. And lewdly ravish the great critick's fame.
In cloudless beams of light true judgment plays,
How mild the censure, how refined the praise!
Beauties ye pass, and blemishes ye cull,
Profoundly read, and eminently dull.
Though Linnets sing, yet Owls feel no delight;
For they the best can judge, who best can write.

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37. Wm.Somerville (1675-1742). An Imitation of Horace. Bk. iv. Ode ix. Chalmers, Eng.Pts., 11:192. And., Br. Pts. 8:294.

38. Wm. King (1663-1712). Bibliotheca: A Poem Occasioned by the Sight of A Modern Library. Nichols, Sel. Col.of Pms. 3: 56.

39. Alex. Pope (1688-1744). Windsor Forest.

40. John Hughes (1677-1720). To The Memory of Milton. Anderson, Br. Pts., 7: 314.

41. Lawrence Eusden (1688-1730). Verses.. On The Spectator's Critique on Milton. Steele, Ptl. Misc.,1714. 196-197. Nichols, Sel. Col. of Pms., 1780. 4: 157.

O! had great Milton but surviv'd to hear
His numbers try'd by such a tuneful ear;
How would he all thy just remarks commend!
The more the Critic, own the more the Friend.
But, did he know once your immrotal strain,
Th' exalted pleasure would increase the pain:
He would not blush for faults he rarely knew,
But blush for glories thus excell'd by you.

42. As through the Psalms, from theme to theme I changed,
1718. Methinks like Eve in Paradise I rang'd;
And every grace of song I seem'd to see,
As the gay pride of every season she;
She, gently treading all the walks around,
Admir'd the springing beauties of the ground,
The lily, glistering with the morning dew,
The rose in red, the violet in blue,
The pink in pale, the bells in purple rows,
And tulips colour'd in a thousand shows:
Then here and there perhaps she pulled a flower
To strew with moss, and paint her leafy bower;
And here and there, like her I went along,
Chose a bright strain, and bid it deck my song.

43. No more Majestic Virgil's Heights,
B4. Nor tow'ring Milton's lofty Flights,
1720. Nor courtly Horace's rebukes,
Who banters Vice with friendly jokes.

44. Free from the thraldom of monastic rhymes,
?c. In bright progression bless succeeding times;
1720. Milton free poesy from the monkish chain,
And Addison that Milton shall explain;
Point out the beauties of each living page;
Reform the taste of a degen'rate age;
Show that true wit disdains all little art,
And can at once engage, and mend the heart;
Knows even popular applause to gain,
Yet not malicious, wanton, or profane.

45. First, one who believ'd he excell'd in translation,
1720. Founds his claim on the doctrine of man's transmigration:
"Since the soul of great Milton was given to me,
I hope the convention will quickly agree."
"Agreed," quoth Apollo-------
"Be gone! sir, you've got your subscriptions in time,
And given in return neither reason nor rhyme."

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42. Thos. Parnell (1679-1718). The Gift of Poetry. This was written before 1718, but published in London, June, 1758. G. A. Aitken, Ptl. Wks. of Parnell, pp. lxviii, 4. Chalmers, Eng.Pts. 9: 371-401. First lines on "Solomon."

43. Edw. Littleton, LL.D.(-1733). To Master Henry Archer (at Eton School). Norfolk Ptl. Misc., 1744. 2: 73-78. Dodsley, Col., 1782. 6: 316. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 2: 59.

44. Lady Mary W. Montagu (1689-1762). The Court of Dulness. Letters & Works, 1893. II. 471-4.

45. Pat.Delany(1685-1768).News From Parnassus. Chalmers,11:410.

46. In what new region to the just assign'd,
1721. What new employments please the unbodied mind,
A winged Virtue through th' ethereal sky,
From world to world unwearied does he fly?
.....
Does he delight to hear bold seraphs tell
How Michael battled, and the Dragon fell,
Or, mix'd with milder cherubim to glow
In hymns of love, not ill essay'd below?

47. Milton, immortal bard, divinely bright,
172 . Conducts his favorite to the realms of light,
Where Raphael's lyre charms the celestial throng,
Delighted cherubs listening to the song:
From bliss to bliss the happy beings rove,
And taste the sweets of music and of love.

48. Back, scribbler, to thy Caledonian plains,
172 . .....
In vain thou'rt sanctify'd with Milton's name,
Not even Homer should protect thy shame.

49. Now to the Muse's soft retirement fly,
1724. Or soar with Milton.....
Here Spenser, Cowley, and that awful name
Of mighty Milton, flourished into fame:
From these amusing groves, his copious mind,
The blooming shades of Paradise designed.

50. Here Spenser's thoughts in solemn numbers roll,
172 . Here lofty Milton seems to lift the soul.

51. To move the springs of nature as we please,
1726? To think with spirit, but to write with ease:
With living words to warm the conscious heart,
Or please the soul with nicer charms of art,
For this the Grecian soar'd in epic strains,
And softer Maro left the Mantuan plains:
Melodious Spencer felt the lover's fire,
And Awful Milton strung his Heav'nly lyre.

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46. Thos. Tickell (1686-1740). On The Death of Addison. C.D.Cleveland, Comp. Eng. Lit. Phila.,1869. 423.

47. Britannicus. To Dr. Watts. On the 5th. Ed. of Horae Lyricae. (4th. ed. 1722). Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 13: 10.

48. Wm. Pattison (1706-1727). To Mr. Mitchell. Anderson, Br. Poets, 8: 577. This was written to Joseph Mitchell(1684-1738), "Sir Robert Walpole's Poet," in response to The Sine Cure. A Poetical Petition To The Right Honourable Robert Walpole, Esq. for the Government of Duck Island in St. James's Park. The New Foundling Hospital for Wit., 1784. 6: 231-235.

49. Same. The College Life.To A Friend. Anderson,Br.Pts.8:555.

50. Walter Harte (1709-1774). To A Young Lady, with Fenton's Miscellanies. Chalmers, Eng.Pts.,10: 423, or 16: 329.

51. Same. To Mr. Pope. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 12: 136, or 16: 330. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 6: 26. Written on the occasion of Pope's Poems being printed for B. Lintot (d.1737),--i.e. 1726 or 1736. For 50 and 51, see Nichols, Sel. Col., 1780. 7: 302-308.

52. Rhyme whose bewitching Siren Song
Has lull'd and sooth'd my Sense too long:
And from whose silken chains set free,
I hail the Nymph sweet Liberty.

'Tis Freedom whispers in mine Ear
"Thy rhyming Toils at length forbear.
In Milton's Page without a rhime
See how the Bard had towr'd sublime:
While Shakespeare, above Art's control,
Can freeze the Blood, or harrow up the Soul.
Bold British Bards, who re-assume
The free-born Rights of Greece and Rome;
While slavish France in jingling Strain
Drags on, yet hugs the servile Chain."

53. Is not each, each amiable Muse
1727. Of classic ages, in thy Milton met?
A genius universal as his theme;
Astonishing as chaos; as the bloom
Of blowing Eden fair; as Heaven sublime.

54. Now, Sir, as Romans shar'd with Greeks their Fame,
1729. So should with Romans Britons share the same.
Homer and Virgil would not scorn to be
Of Milton's and of Spencer's company.

55. Though few thy faults, who can perfection boast?
1730. Spots in the Sun are in his lustre lost:
Yet ev'n those spots expunge with patient care,
Nor fondly the minutest errour spare.
.....
Read Philips much, consider Milton more;
But from their dross extract the purer ore.

56. Each shallow pate, that cannot reach your name,
1730. Can read your life, and will be proud to blame.
Flagitious manners makes impressions deep
On those that o'er a page of Milton sleep.

57. No stranger, sir! though born in foreign climes;
1730. On Dorset downs, when Milton's page,
With Sin and Death, provok'd thy rage,
Thy rage provok'd, who soothed with gentle rhymes?

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52. Anonymous. To the Hon. Lieut. Gen'l. Cholmondoley. From a small volume of Poems, which gives no information as to authors and dates, but evidently early in the century.

53. James Thomson (1700-1748). Summer, lines 1567-1671.

54. Anon. An Epistle to Lord Viscount Cobham. In Memory of His Friend, the late Mr. Congreve. Congreve died in January, 1729. This Lord Cobham is Sir. Richard Temple(1669-1740). The Altar of Love,&c... By the most eminent Hands. 3rd. ed. London, 1731. p. 23.

55. Wm.Somerville(1675-1742). Epistle to Mr. Thomson, on the first Edition of his Seasons. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 11: 201.

56. Edw. Young (1683-1765). Two Epistles To Mr. Pope, Concerning The Authors of the Age. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 13: 516.

57. Same. Sea-Piece. Dedication to Voltaire. Same, 13: 519.

58. Verse without rhyme I never could endure,
1733. Uncouth in numbers, and in sense obscure.
To him as nature, when he ceas'd to see,
Milton's an universal blank to me.
Confirm'd and settled by the nation's voice,
Rhyme is the poet's pride, and people's choice.
Always upheld by national support
Of market, university, and court.
Thomson, write blank; but know that for that reason,
These lines shall live when thine are out of season.
Rhyme binds and beautifies the poet's lays,
As London ladies owe their shape to stays.

59. Once more, ye Muses, to your sacred hill
1733. I come with unassur'd and trembling feet,
Fearful of sharp rebuke, presuming thus
To touch the strings of Milton's hallowed lyre.

60. In vain philosophers with warmth contest,
1735. Life's secret shade, or open walk is best:
Each has its separate joys, and each its use:
This calls the patriot forth, and that the Muse.
Where high ambition still the power confess'd
That rul'd with equal sway in every breast,
Say where the glories of the sacred Nine?
Where Homer's verse sublime, or Milton, thine?
Nor thou, sweet Bard! who turn'dst the tuneful art,
"From sound to sense, from fancy to the heart,"
Thy lays instructive to the world hadst giv'n,
Nor greatly justify'd the laws of heav'n.

61. Here, sacred truths, in lofty numbers told,
1736? The prospect of a future state unfold;
The realms of night to mortal view display,
And the glad regions of eternal day.
. . . . . .
This daring author scorns by vulgar ways
Of guilty wit, to merit worthless praise.
Full of her glorious theme, his towering Muse,
With gen'rous zeal, a nobler fame pursues:
Religion's Cause her ravish'd heart inspires,
And with a thousand bright ideas fires;
Transports her quick, impatient, piercing eye,
O'er the strait limits of mortality,
To boundless orbs, and bids her fearless soar,
Where only Milton gain'd renown before;
Where various scenes alternately excite
Amazement, pity, terrour, and delight.

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58. Jas. Bramston (1694-1744). The Man Of Taste. Campbell, Brit. Pts., 1819. 5: 165. Dodsley, Pms.by Sev.Hands.vol.I.

59. Anon. Prize Verses No.XI. Gent. Mag.,Oct.1733. 3:541.

60. Wm. Melmouth (1710 -1799). Of Active and Retired Life. Fol. London, 1735. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 1: 9-19.

61. T. Tristam (-). To A Lady, with The Last Day. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 13: 367.

62. Or Bard, sublime, (if Bard may e'er be so,)
1736. As Milton, Shakespeare; Names that ne'er shall die!

63. When nature first her Milton's soul endu'd,
1736. With sonscious pride the wond'rous work she view'd.

64. Milton's strong pinion now not heaven can bound,
1637. Now serpent-like, in prose, he sweeps the ground.
In quibbles, angels and arch-angels join,
And God the Father turns a school divine.

65. See, when the magick Arts of Faction point,
1739. The blackest Traitor prove the Whitest Saint!
Milton, sage Father of the sacred Throng,
Varnish'd Rebellion, and debas'd his Song,
In Heaven he seems to palliate Satan's Pride,
On Earth to triumph when the Martyr died;
Yet shall Britannia's Sons proclaim
His Pen their Glory, tho' his Cause their shame;
Princes shall stretch their Bounty to His Heirs,
And gracious view his Tomb approach to theirs.

66. Soul of the Muses! Thou Supreme of Verse!
1740. .....
Feb. Grant me at least thy converse now, and oft
To ruminate thy beauties infinite,
To trace thy heavenly notions, to enquire
When from above they come, and how convey'd:
.....
..... Thy Hell,
Copied by other hand whate'er, will lose
Its terrors, and thy Paradise its sweets,
Soiled by rude touch,---- enough then to admire,
Silent admire; and be content to feel.

67. Adieu, celestial nymph, adieu!
1741. Shakespeare no more, thy sylvan son,
Nor all the art of Addison,
Pope's heaven strung lyre, nor Waller's ease,
Nor Milton's mighty self must please.

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62. Wm. Shenstone (1714-1763). The School-Mistress. A Poem written at College, 1736. Stanza xxiii.

63. "G. W." To A Lady, with Paradise Lost. Gent. Mag., Sept. 1736. 6: 544.

64. Alex. Pope (1688-1744). Epistle To Augustus. 11.99-102.

65. Anon. Candour: or, An Occasional Essay on the Abuse of Wit and Eloquence. London, Watson. 1739.

The Editor, in his Preface, says, "Milton, Rochester, Hobbs, are better and more impartially characterized by the Author, than they have yet been by any other writer: he points out their Beauties and Blemishes with equal Candour and Judgment."

66. Sneyd Davies,D.D.(1709-1769). Rhapsody, To Milton. It has 87 lines. Nichols, Sel.Col. of Pms. 1780. 6: 121-124.

67. Sir.Wm.Blackstone (1723-1780). The Lawyer's Farewell To His Muse. Dodsley, Col. vol. iv. Campbell, Brit. Pts., 1819. 6: 408-411. Southey, Specimens, 3: 188-192.

68. Milton, whose genius, like his subject high,
1742. Gave him beyond material bounds to fly!
And manly Shakespeare, whose extensive mind
Could fathom all the passions of mankind.

69. 'Tis Virtue only can the bard inspire,
1743. And fill his raptur'd breast with lasting fire:
Touch'd by th'ethereal ray each kindled line
Beams strong: still Virtue feeds the flame divine;
Where e'er she treads she leaves her footsteps bright
In radiant tracts of never-dying light:
These shed the lustre o'er each sacred name,
Give Spencer's clear, and Shakespeare's noble flame;
Blaze to the skies in Milton's ardent song,
And kindle the brisk-sallying fire of Young.

70. Now mark the strength of Milton's sacred lines,
1743. Sense rais'd by genius, fancy rul'd by art,
Where all the glory of the Godhead shines,
And earliest innocence enchants the heart.

71. Appollo of old on Britannia did smile,
1743? Then Chaucer and Spenser harmonious were heard,
Then Shakspere, and Milton, and Waller appear'd.

72. With Finger tap'd against my Nose,
B4 I measur'd first five Feet of Prose;
1744. This was blank verse-- so far, at least,
I've gain'd my point-- now for the rest;
But sure this Rhiming might be spar'd;
Bless'd Milton! who wou'd never own
The Fetters under which I groan:
But he, Great Bard! with Sense profound,
Makes ev'ry lofty Page abound,
And charms with something more than Sound.
We, a degen'rate scribbing Tribe,
Are forc'd with Sounds the ear to bribe;
And Wit's so scarce in these hard Times,
'Tis cheaper far to deal in Rhimes:
With jingling Rhimes together ty'd,
A shameful Dearth of Sense we hide.

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68. Saml. Boyse (1708-1749). The Triumph of Nature. Gent. Mag. June-Aug., 1742. 12: 324, 380, 435. Chalmers, Eng.Pts.14:534-8.

69. John Brown (1715-1766). On Honor. To the Lord Viscount Lonsdale. Anderson, Br.Pts.,10:884-7. Bell, Fug.Ptry., I: 27-37.

70. Jas. Hammond (1710?-1742). Elegy XIV. To Delia. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 11: 145.

71. Sir Chas. Hamburg (1708-1759). To Mrs. Bindon at Bath. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 6: 134-135.

72. Anon. A Poetical Epistle to Daniel Wr--y,Esq. Norfolk Ptl. Miscellany. 1744. 1: 166-170.

73. 1744. Now in Elysium lap'd, and lovely scenes,
.....
As blissful Eden fair; the morning work
Of Heav'n and Milton's theme! where Innocence
Smil'd, and improv'd the prospect.

74. 1744. Last came a bard of more majestic tread,
And Thyrsis hight by dryad, fawn, or swain,
Whene'er he mingled with the shepherd train;
But seldom that; for higher thoughts he fed;
For him full oft the heav'nly Muses led
To clear Euphrates, and the secret mount,
To Araby, and Edeh, fragrant climes,
All which the sacred bard would oft recount:
And thus in strains, unus'd in sylvan shade,
To sad Musaeus rightful homage paid.

75. 1745. But, Morpheus, on thy dewy wing,
Such fair auspicious visions bring,
As sooth'd great Milton's injur'd age,
When in prophetic dreams he saw
The tribe unborn with pious awe
Imbibe each virtue from his heav'nly page.

76. 1745. Queen of my song, harmonious Maid,
Ah why hast thou withdrawn thy aid?
.....
Say, goddess, can the festal board,
Or young Olympia's form ador'd;
Say, can the pomp of promis'd fame
Relume thy faint, thy dying flame?
Or have melodious airs the power
To give one free poetic hour?
Or from amid the Elysian train
The soul of Milton shall I gain
To win thee back with some celestial strain!
O mighty mind! O sacred flame!
My spirit kindles at his name.

77. Wr. 1745. Beyond Creation's utmost bound
Whilst Milton's genius took its flight,
The Bard in his arm-chair was found,
Contented-- even with loss of sight.

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73. Wm. Thompson (1712-1766). Sickness. Written in 1744, published in 1745. Book iii. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 15: 46.

74. Wm. Mason (1724-1797). Musaeus: A Monody To the Memory of Mr. Pope. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 18: 323-325. This was written in 1744, and published in 1747.

75. Jas. Scott (1733-1814). Ode ix. To Sleep. Odes on Sev. Occasions. London, 1745.

76. Mark Akenside (1721-1770). Ode x. To The Muse. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 14: 104.

77. Richard Graves (1715-1804). The Elbow-Chair. Written in 1745. Euphrosyne: or, Amusements on the Road of Life. 2 vols. London, 1776. 2nd. ed. 1780. vol. I. 68-71. This reference has a foot-note explaining Milton's manner of study.

78. The sprightly lark's shrill matin wakes the morn;
1745. Grief's sharpest thorn hard pressing on my breast,
I strive, with wakeful melody, to cheer
The sullen gloom, sweet Philomel! like thee,
And call the stars to listen; ev'ry star
Is deaf to mine, enamour'd of thy lay,
Yet be not vain; there are who thine excel,
And charm through distant ages. Wrapt in shade,
Pris'ner of darkness! to the silent hours
How often I repeat their rage divine,
To lull my griefs, and steal my heart from woe!
I roll their raptures, but not catch their fire.
Dark, though not blind, like the, Maeonides!
Or, Milton, thee! ah, could I reach your strain!
Or his who made Maeonides our own.
Man, too, he sung; immortal man I sing.

79. But let the sacred genius of the night
1745. Such mystic visions send, as Spenser saw,
.....or.Milton knew,
When in abstract thought he first conceiv'd
All Heav'n in tumult, and the seraphim
Come tow'ring, arm'd in adamant and gold.

80. What lust of power from the cold North
1746. Could tempt those Vandal-robbers forth,
Fair Italy, thy vine-clad vales to waste!
.....
They weeping Art in fetters bound,
And gor'd her breast with many a wound,
And veil'd her charms in clouds of thickest night;
Sad Poesy, much-injured maid,
They drove to some dim convent's shade,
And quenched in gloomy mist her lamp's resplendent light.
There long she wept, to darkness doom'd,
'Till Cosmo's hand her light relum'd,
That once again in lofty Tasso shone;
Since has sweet Spenser caught her fire,
She breathed once more in Milton's lyre,
And warm'd the soul divine of Shakespeare, Fancy's son.

81. How nearly had my spirit past,....
1746. Where Maro and Musaeus sit
List'ning to Milton's loftier song,
With sacred silent wonder smit;
While, monarch of the tuneful throng,
Homer in rapture throws his triumphat down,
And to the Briton gives his amaranthine crown.

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78. Edw. Young (1683-1765). Night Thoughts. Night I.438-453.
79. Thomas Warton (1728-1790). The Pleasures of Melancholy. Written 1745, published 1747. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 18: 95-97.
80. Joseph Warton (1722-1800). To A Gentleman on His Travels Through Italy. Odes on Various Subjects, London. 1746.
81. Same. Odes, 1746. Ode To Health.

82. Nor an holier place desire
1747. Than Timoleon's arms acquire,
And Tully's curule chair, and Milton's golden lyre.

83. Then turn, and while each western clime
1747. Presents her tuneful sons to Time,
So mark thou Milton's name;
And add, "Thus differs from the throng
The spirit which informed thy awful song,
Which bade thy potent voice protect thy country's fame."

84. Frown not, ye royal shades, that Milton's name
1748. Among your sacred tombs a place does claim,
Great Brunswick reigns, whose throne's on freedom raised,
He, like Augustus, can hear Catoes praised.

85. As seated pensive in my lonely bow'r,
1748. .....
Three venerable forms appear'd, and spread
An awful pleasing vision round my head.
Somers, a champion bold in Freedom's cause,
The just assertor of Britannia's laws,
From heav'n descended, like celestial dews,
To glad the subject, and to cheer the muse;
Who to our Milton's great remains was kind,
When to the poet's worth the land was blind;
To whom alone we owe what Eden yields,
That vies with Temple and Elysian fields;
In spite of evil tongues, and evil times,
He sav'd the manly and majestic rhymes (= numbers).

86. The Muse at Cam.--
1748. "Here will I rest," she cry'd; "my laurel here
Eternal blooms; here hangs my golden lyre,
Which erst my Spenser tun'd to shepherd's ear,
And loftiest Milton smote with genuine epic fire."

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82. Mark Akenside (1721-1770). Ode xvii. On A Sermon Against Glory. 1747.

83. Same. Ode xviii. To the Right Honorable Francis Earl of Huntingdon. 1747. For both Odes, see Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 14: 108-109. The latter alludes to Milton's "Defence of the People of England." Compare his own introduction to his reply to Morus.

84. Anon. To Be Put Under Milton's Tomb in West-minster Abbey. Gent. Mag. Mar. 1748. 18: 134.

85. Anon. The Progress of Corruption. A Satire. Gent. Mag., June, 1748. 18: 276. The other two were Cowper, the learned and the good, and the late lamented Talbot.

86. Bishop Richard Hurd (1720-1808). On the Peace of Aix La Chapelle. 1748. G. Pearch, Continuation, 1783. 2: 279-282.

87. 1748. Had unambitious mortals minded nought,
But in loose joy their time to wear away,
.....
Great Homer's song had never fir'd the breast
To thirst of glory, and heroic deeds;
Sweet Maro's muse, sunk in inglorious rest,
Had silent slept amid the Mincian reeds;
.....
Our Milton's Eden had lain wrapt in weeds,
Our Shakespeare stroll'd and laugh'd with Warwick swains.

88. 1748? Should some strange poet in his piece affect
Pope's nervous style, with Cibber's jokes bedecked,
Prink Milton's true sublime with Cowley's wit,
And garnish Blackmore's Job with Swift's conceit,
Would you not laugh!

89. 1749? High on some cliff, to Heaven up-pil'd,
Of rude access, of prospect wild,
Where, tangled round the jealous steep,
Strange shades o'erbrow the valley deep,
And holy genii guard the rock,
Its glooms embrown, its springs unlock,
While on its rich ambitious head,
An Eden, like his own, lies spread.
I view that oak, the fancied glades among,
By which as Milton lay, his evening ear,
From many a cloud that dropp'd ethereal dew,
Nigh spher'd in Heaven its native strains could hear!
On which that antient trump he reach'd was hung;
Thither oft his glory greeting,
From Waller's myrtle shades retreating,
With many a vow from Hope's aspiring tongue,
My trembling feet his guiding steps pursue;
In vain---- Such bliss to one alone,
Of all the sons of soul was known,
And Heaven, and Fancy, kindred powers,
Have now o'erturn'd th' inspiring bowers,
Or curtain'd close such scene from every future view.

90. 1749. Let Granta boast the patrons of her name,
.....
Still let her senates titled slaves revere,
Nor dare to know the patriot from the peer;

---

87. Jas. Thomson (1700-1748). The Castle of Indolence. Canto II. stanzas 51 and 52.

88. Robert Dodsley (1703-1764). The Art of Preaching. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry. Anderson, Br.Poets, 11:98-102.

89. Wm. Collins (1721-1759). Ode On The Poetical Character. Bronson's Ed. Ath. Press Srs., pp. 41-43. Chalmers, Eng.Pts.,13:199.

One feels the first line here, and especially of Hayley (No. 171 below), to be an echo of Milton lines (Para. Lost, II. 557&c):

Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of Providence.....

90. Thos. Warton (1728-1790). The Triumph of Isis. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 18: 89-91.

No longer charm'd Virtue's lofty song,
Once heard sage Milton's manly tones among,
Where Cam, meandering thro' the matted reeds,
With loitering wave his groves of laurel feeds.

91. An academic leisure here I find
1749. With learning's love to discipline my youth;
By Virtue's wholesome rule to form my min d,
To seek and love the wise man's treasure, truth.
Oft to thy hallow'd sons enthroned hie,
O peerless poesie!
Sounding great thoughts my raptur'd mind deligh;
He first, the glorious child of libertie,
Maeonian Milton, beaming heavenly bright.

92. With Nature Shakespeare rove
1750? Thro' all the fairy regions, or oft fly
With Milton, boundless, thro' ethereal worlds.

93. Ye patriot crowds, who burn for England's fame,
1750. Ye nymphs, whose bosoms beat at Milton's name,
Apr.5. Whose generous zeal, unbought by flattering rhymes,
Shames the mean pensions of Augustan times!
Immortal patrons of succeeding days,
Attend this prelude of perpetual praise;
Let Wit condemn'd the feeble war to wage
With close Malevolence, or Public Rage;
Let Study, worn with virtue's fruitless lore,
Behold this theatre, and grieve no more.
This night, distinguished by your smiles, shall tell
That never Briton can in vain excell:
The slightest arts futurity shall trust,
And rising ages hasten to be just.

At length our mighty bard's victorious lays
Fill the loud voice of universal praise;
And baffled Spite, with hopeless anguish dumb,
Yields to Renown the centuries to come;
With ardent haste each candidate of fame,
Ambitious, catches at his towering name;
He sees, and pitying sees, vain wealth bestow
Those pageant honours which he scorn'd below.
While crowds aloft the laureate bust behold,
Or trace his form on circulating gold,
Unknown-- unheeded, long his offspring lay,
And Want hung threatening o'er her slow decay.
What though she shine with no Miltonian fire,
No favouring Muse her morning dreams inspire?

---

91. Rev. Robert Potter (1721-1804). A Farewell Hymne to the Country. Stanza xiii. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 11: 105-119.

92. Robert Shiels (-1753). The Power of Beauty. G. Pearch, Continuation, I: 194-212. Shiels wrote this power on Johnson's Irene, probably about 1750.

93. Saml. Johnson (1709-1784). Prologue to Comus. This was spoken by David Garrick, April 5, 1750, when Comus was acted for the benefit of Milton's Grand-daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Foster. See an account of this event on page .

Yet softer claims the melting heart engage,
Her youth laborious, and her blameless age;
Hers the mild merits of domestic life,
The patient sufferer, and the faithful wife.
Thus graced with humble Virtue's native charms,
Her grandsire leaves her in Britannia's arms,
Secure with peace, with competence to dwell,
While tutelary nations guard her cell.
Yours is the charge, ye fair! ye wise! ye brave!
'Tis yours to crown desert --- beyond the grave.

94. 1751. Oft Phoebus self left his divine abode,
And here enshrouded in a shady bow'r,
Regardless of his state, lay'd by the God,
And own'd sweet Music's more alluring pow'r.
On either side was placed a peerless wight,
Whose merit long had fill'd the trump of Fame;
This, Fancy's darling child, was Shakespeare hight,
Who pip'd full pleasing on the banks of Tame;
That no less fam'd than He, and Milton was his name.

Now Spenser 'gan,
Of jousts and tournaments, and champions strong;
Now Milton sung of disobedient Man,
And Eden lost: the bards around them throng,
Drawn by the wond'rous magic of their princes' song.

At length, on blest Parnassus seated high
Their temple circled with a laurel crown,
Spenser and Milton met her scowling eye,
And turn'd her horrid grin into a frown.
.....
See Phoebus' self two happy bards atween;
See how the god their song attentive hears;
This Spenser hight, that Milton, well I ween!
Who can behold unmov'd sike heart-tormenting scene?

95. 1751. Some Village-Hampden that with dauntless Breast
The little Tyrant of his Fields withstood;
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell guiltless of his Country's Blood.

96. 1751? Fairest flower, all flowers excelling,
Which in Milton's page we see;
Flowers of Eve's embower'd dwelling
Are, my fair one, types of thee.

---

94. Robert Lloyd(1733-1764). The Progress of Envy. The Ptl. Wks. 2 vol. 1774. 1: 132-146. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 15: 94-97.

95. Thos. Gray (1716-1771). The Elegy. The proper names in these lines originally read "Cato," "Tully," and "Caesar." The change is due to changing national feelings.

96. Nath. Cotton (1705-1788). To A Child of Five Years Old. Various Pieces in Verse and Prose, 2 vol. 1791. 1: 71. Also Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 18: 20.

97. And let thy pious strain
1751. Tell.....
How Milton scorn'd the sophist vain,
Who durst approach his hallow'd strain
With unwash'd hands and life profane.

98. Ere yet I sing the round-revolving year,
1751. And show the toils and pastime of the swain,
At Alcon's grave I drop a pious tear;
Right well he knew to raise his learned strain,
And, like his Milton, scorn'd the rhyming chain.
Ah! cruel fate, to tear him from our eyes;
Receive this wreath, albe the tribute's vain,
From the green sod may flowers immortal rise,
To mark the sacred spot where the sweet poet lies.

99. Tho' Milton's brows with bays we twine,
And style him wonderful! divine!
Th' immortal, and the bard!
Yet Pope, with ev'ry grace replete,
In sense, and harmony complete,
Still claims our just regard.

100. Milton, bard divine,
1752. Whose greatness who shall imitate?

101. But not to one in this benighted age
1752. Is that diviner inspiration giv'n,
That burns in Shakespeare's or in Milton's page,
The pomp and prodigality of heav'n.

102. Should the weak things this truth disciver,
1753. How few coquettes would keep a lover;
And yet, so plain (though blind you know)
Milton could see it years ago.

103. Oft too with Spenser let me tread
1753. The fairy field where Una strays;

---

97. Mark Akenside (1721-1770). Bk.II. Ode x. To Thomas Edwards, Esq. On the Late Ed. of Mr. Pope's Works. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 14: 115. Cr. Rev. May, 1766. 21: 389-391.

98. Moses Mendes (-1758). The Seasons. Stanza 1. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 11: 63-78. G.Pearch, Continuation, 2: 217-230. The allusion here is to Jas. Thomson, buried at Alcon.

99. Anon. Imitation of Ode ix, Bk.iv. of Horace. Nichols, New Foundling Hospital for Wit. 5: 46-50.

100. Christopher Smart (1722-1771). The Hop- Garden. Bk. I. Poems, 1791. 1: 152. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 16: 38.

101. Thos. Gray (1716-1771). Stanzas To Mr. Rich. Bentley.

102. Miss Courtney. To Miss Anne Conolly. Bell, Fugitive Poetry, 1: 33-34.

103. John Ogilvie (1733-1813). The Day of Judgment, with (six other Odes &c). Ode on Sleep, stanza 5. Poems on Several Subjects, 1769. 2 vols. 1: 95. Mo. Rev. Dec.,1759. 21:467-469.

Or loll in Pleasure's flow'ry bed,
Or burst to heav'n in Milton's high-wrought lays;
Or on Ariel's airy wing,
Let me chase the young-eyed spring.

104. His frailties are to ev'ry gossip known:
1753. Yet Milton's pedantries not shock the town.

If solid merit others pine unknown;
.....
Sunk in dead night the giant Milton lay,
'Till Sommers' hand produc'd him to the day.

Judge for yourself.....
The lords who starved old Ben were learnedly fond
Of Chaucer.....
Their sons, whose ears bold Milton could not seize,
Would laugh o'er Ben.....
Their spawn, the pride of this sublimer age,
Feel to the toes and horns grave Milton's rage.
Though lived he now he might appeal with scorn
To lords, knights, 'squires, and doctors, yet unborn;
Or justly mad, to Moloch's burning fane
Devote the choicest children of his brain.

105. But, ah, how void yon peasant's mind!
1753. .....
In vain to him is Maro's strain,
And Shakespeare's magic powers in vain,
In vain is Milton's fire.

106. The verse adorn again
1755. Fierce War, and faithful Love,
And Truth severe, by fairy Fiction drest.
In buskin'd measures move
Pale Grief and pleasing Pain,
With Horror, Tyrant of the throbbing breast.
A Voice as of the Cherub Choir,
Gales from blooming Eden bear;
And distant warblings lesson on my ear,
That lost in long futurity expire.

107. Let them rally their heroes, send forth all their powers,
1755. Their verse-men, and prose-men; then match them with ours;
First Shakspear and Milton, like gods in the fight,
Have put their whole drama and epic to flight.
.....
And Johnson, well-arm'd like a hero of yore,
Has beat forty French, and will beat forty more.

---

104. John Armstrong,M.D.(1709-79?). Taste. An Epistle to A Young Critic. 1753. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 16: 538-540.

105. Wm.J.Mickle (1735-1788). Knowledge. An Ode. Pearch, Continuation, 1783. 3: 21-29. p. 23.

106. Thos. Gray (1716-1771). The Bard. The allusions are to Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and succeeding poets.

107. David Garrick (1717-1779). Epigram on Johnson's Dictionary and the French Academy. Ptl. Wks. 2 vol. 1785. 2:506. Anderson, Br. Poets, 11: 799.

108. This, Milton for his plan will choose:
1755. Wherein resembling Milton's Muse?
Milton, like thunder, rolls along
In all the majesty of song:
While his low mimics meanly creep,
Nor quite awake, nor quite asleep;
Or, if their thunder chance to roll,
'Tis thunder of the mustard bowl.
The stiff expression, phrases strange,
The epithet's preposterous change,
Forced numbers, rough and unpolite,
Such as the Judging ear affright,
Stop in mid verse. Ye mimics vile!
Is 't thus ye copy Milton's style?
His faults religiously you trace,
But borrow not a single grace.
How few, (say, whence can it proceed?)
Who copy Milton, e'er succeed!
But all their labours are in vain:
And wherefore so? The reason's plain.
Take it for granted, 'tis by those
Milton's the model mostly chose,
Who can't write verse, and won't write prose.

109. Genius of Milton, wake!
1755. In all thy native majesty appear,
Sublime, concise, and clear,
As when thy strains, heav'n's battlements did shake.
Or, as when o'er the urn
Of Lycidas, thou pourdst the plaintive song,
.....
Or, come like Mirth, with airy train.

110. Rise, hallow'd Milton! rise, and say,
2.ed. How, at thy gloomy close of Day;
1756. How, when "deprest of age, beset with wrongs;"
How, "fall'n on evil days and evil tongues;
When darkness, brooding on thy sight,
Exiled the sov'raign lamp of light:
Say, what could then one chearing hope diffuse?"

111. The proverb still sticks closely by us,
1756. Ni dictum, quod non dictum prius.
The only comfort that I know

---

108. Robert Lloyd. To **** About To Publish A Volume of Miscellanies. 1755. Ptl. Wks. 1774. 1: 105-6. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 15: 90-91.

109. H. Kiddell. The Genius of Milton. An Invocation. Gent. Mag. Nov., 1755. 25: 518.

110. Wm. Mason (1724-1797). To Memory. Odes. 2nd.ed.1756. "Well imagined...tho' too long." Cr.Rev. Apr.,1756. 1: 208-214.

111. Robert Lloyd. An Epistle To Mr. Colman. 1756. Ptl. Wks. 1774. 1: 165-170. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 15: 102-103.

Is, that 't was said an age ago,
Ere Milton soar'd in thought sublime,
Ere Pope refin'd the chink of rhyme.

112. Th' immortal Bard,
1756. Who sightless sung, in never dying strains,
Revolted Angels, and fair Eden's loss,
In vain would stike his Epic lyre, to raise
Th' inactive spirit of this drowsy isle,
To that unconquerable height, to which
Our venerable ancestry aspired.

113. How sweet with her, in wisdon's calm recess,
1756? To brighten soft desire with wit refined?
Kind Nature's laws with sacred Ashly trace,
And view the fairest features of the mind!

Or borne on Milton's flight, as Heaven sublime,
View its full blaze in open prospect glow;
Bless the first pair in Eden's happy clime,
Or drop the human tear for endless woe.

114. Fancy dreams,
1757. Rapt into high discourse with prophets old,
And wandering through Elysium, Fancy dreams
Of sacred fountains, of o'ershadowing groves,
Whose walks with god-like harmony resound:
Fountains, which Homer visits: happy groves,
Where Milton dwells: the intellectual power,
On the mind's throne, suspends his graver cares,
And smiles: the passions, to divine repose,
Persuaded yield: and love and joy alone
Are waking; love and joy, such as wait
An angel's meditation.

115. Thus form'd, our Edwards, Henrys, Churchills, Blakes,
1757. Our Loskes, our Newtons, and our Miltons, rose.
.....
What other Paradise adorn but thine,
Britannia?

116. Though foremost in the lists of fame
1757. We matchless Milton place,
Yet long will Pope's distinguished name
The Muse's annals grace.

117. Fool that I was! My Milton lost!
1757. Old Homer's youngest son!

---

112. Joseph Reed (1723-1790). A British Philippic. Mo. Rev. July, 1756. 15: 85-86.

113. Thos. Blacklock (1721-1791). The Wish: An Elegy. Poems, 2.ed. 1769. Chalmers, 18:202. Bell,F.Ptry, 8:122. Pearch, 2: 194.

114. Mark Akenside. The Pleasures of the Imagination. Bk. I. lines 161-173. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 14: 80-97.

115. John Dyer(1700-1758). The Fleece.Bk.I. Chalmers,13:228.

116. J.Duncombe. Ode to the Rt.Hon. John Earl of Corke. See

Luss! be for ever sunk beneath
Ben's horrors pil'd around.

Sun's 'livening ray ne'er pierce thy gloom.
Thy hideous deep be drain'd.
Fishes to devilish snakes be turn'd:
Boat-man to Cerebus.

Mouth of the hellish gulf be thou:
Its mortal damp thy air.
All o'er thy plains Volcanos thick
Their burning sands disgorge.

Birds never warble chearful note;
Nor roam the humming bee.
Herds never graze, nor sheep, nor goats;
Nor human voice be heard.

Crags other echo ne'er repeat
Than dismal Furies yell.
Mercury laughed, and jeering cried,
I Milton from thee filch'd.

So did Apollo bid: and see!
For thee a laurel holds.

118. He looks the guardian genius of the grove,
1758. Mild as the fabled form that whilom deign'd,
At Milton's call, in Harefield's haunts to rove.

Blest spirit, come! tho' pent in mortal mold,
I'll yet invoke thee by that purer name.
Oh come, a portion of thy bliss unfold,
From folly's maze my wayward step restrain.

119. Who reads Lost Paradise, all knowledge gains,
1759. That book of Milton ev'ry thing contains.

120. Say, can these untaught airs acceptance find
1760. Where Milton, wond'rous bard! divinely sung?
Or yield a taste of pleasure to the mind
That raptur'd soars with Hervey or with Young!

Cr. Rev. Oct., 1767. 24: 266-275.

117. Robert Colvill (-1788). Upon Losing Milton's Paradise Lost, at Luss, situated upon Loch Lomond at the foot of Ben Lowman, and a group of other wast Mountains: an Ode. See Mo. Rev. March, 1758. 18: 277-278.

118. Wm. Mason (1724-1797). Elegy II. Written in the Garden of a Friend. 1758. Chalmers, 18: 335-336.

119. Thos. Marriott. Female Conduct: being an Essay on The Art of Pleasing. The above lines are a part of his advice to his fair pupils to read the best poets, particularly Shakespeare and Milton. The Critic make some objection to the matter of fact in these lines. Mo. Rev. Feb.,1759. 20: 135-141.

120. Theodosia (Anne Steele). To Lysander. Poems on Subjects Chiefly Devotional. 1760. re-issued 1780. Mo. Rev. April, 1760. 22: 321-324.

121. 1760. Ode To The Muses. (Not found, but see the note below).

122. 1761. Lo! this the land, whence Milton's Muse of fire,
High soar'd to steal from Heaven a seraph's lyre;
And told the golden ties of wedded love
In sacred Eden's amaranthine grove.

123. 176 . "Here Contemplation holds her still abode.
Here oft my Milton in the midnight gloom,
Has caught the lofty sentiment refin'd,
Here oft sought Science in her cloyster'd dome,
Hence fill'd the mighty volume of his mind.

Here learnt above the duller sons of earth,
In all the dignity of thought to rise,
Here plann'd the work, that told creation's birth,
Hence gain'd his native palace in the skies.

But rais'd to join the aerial choir on high,
That chaunt harmonious at the Almighty's throne,
Mov'd at the pensive world's complaintive sigh,
I to direct them sent this second son."

When leading in her hand a reverend sage,
Her heavenly accents thus my ears addrest:
"Receive the instructor of a darken'd age,
Religion's friend, and piety's high-priest."

She ceas'd, and to my fancy's longing sight,
No more was given, the glorious form to see,
She fled along the thick'ning shades of night,
And left the world to Darkness, Young, and me.

124. 1762. Some hate all rhyme; some seriously deplore
That Milton wants that one enchantment more.

---

121. Michael Wodhull (1740-1816). Ode To The Muses. 4tp. Payne & Cropley. There is said to be "considerable poetical merit in these lines, which reflect credit on the taste of the bard, and on the memory of the most amiable of the British poets." (Cr. Rev. Sept., 1760. 10: 246-8). The poet associates Milton with Homer and Virgil. (Mo. Rev.(Appdx), 1760. 23: 525-526.

122. Thos. Warton (1728-1790). On The Marriage of the King. To Her Majesty. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 18: 92-93. The Critical Review selects this passage for publication (Jan.,1762. 13: 28). Here is a specific connection between Paradise Lost and occasional poetry, that praises Milton's ability to celebrate an event.

123. Stephen Panting, of Wellington, in Shropshire. Four Elegies: Morning, Noon, Evening, Night. Mo.Rev. Feb.,1762.26:152-3. Penseroso like, he woos Contemplation in the solitary night, and has the above answer. It is interesting to note how Paradise Lost, the Night Thoughts, and Gray's Elegy come here together.

124. Wm. Whitehead(1715-1785). A Charge To The Poets. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 17: 231-234.

125. 1762. But oft when Midnight's sadly solemn knell
Sounds long and distant from the sk-topt tower;
Calm let me sit in Prospero's lonely cell,
Or walk with Milton thro' the dark Obscure.

126. 1762. And thou, sweet queen,
That nightly wrapt thy Milton's hallow'd ear
In the soft ecstacies of Lydian airs;
That since attun'd to Handel's high-wound lyre
The lay by thee suggested; couldst not thou
Soothe with thy sweet song the grim fury's breast?

127. 1762. O for the Muse of Milton, to record
The honours of that day, when full conven'd,
Hibernia's senate with one voice proclaim'd
A nation's wide applause!

128. 1762. Nor lists dull Death to the melodious lyre,
Nor heeds the raptur'd poet's heavenly song;
Quench'd in the dust is Milton's muse of fire,
And mute is Dryden's once harmonious tongue.

129. 1763. E'en there (in the future Canada) shall
.....
Some second Newton trace creation's laws
Through each dependence to the sovereign cause;
Some Milton plan his bold impassioned theme,
Stretched on the banks of Orellana's stream;
Another Shakespeare shall Ohio claim,
And boast its floods allied to Avon's fame.

130. 1763. For thee, great prince, the bard shall twine the wreath,
For thee the painter bid the canvass breathe;
O! would indulgeant heaven my soul inspire
With Raphael's warmth, or Milton's sacred fire,
Then should thy name to latest ages live
With all the ornaments that verse could give.

131. 1763. With Milton, Epic drew its latest breath.

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125. John Ogilvie (1733-1813). Ode on Melancholy. Poems on Sev. Subjects. 1769. 1: 74. Cr. Rev. Oct.,1762. 14: 293-301.

126. John Langhorne(1735-1779). To The Memory of Mr.Handel. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 16: 424-5. Allusion to Handel's setting the Companion Poems to music, 1740. See page .

127. Same. The Viceroy: Addressed to the Earl of Hallifax. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 16: 435-437. This, and 130 below, connect Milton again with occasional poetry.

128. Rev. Reginald Heber (1728-1804). An Elegy Written Among the Tombs of Westminster Abbey. Very popular. Mo. Rev. May, 1762. 26: 356-358. Pearch, Continuation, 1783. 2: 135-141. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 9: 36-42.

129. John Law. Christ's College. Cambridge Verses on Peace. 1763. Cr. Rev. Sept., 1763. 16: 183-191.

130. Chas. Foot. Same occasion and reference.

131. R---d B---y, Esq. Epistle to Lord Melcomb. Lloyd' (St. James) Mag. March, 1763. 2: 1-8.

132. Education, as "Mrs. Pedia" speaks:
1763. "In system'd song I ne'er was tuned before,
Though without me no Genius e'er could soar.
Milton disdained me not; but had he sung,
My name with Eve's, around the world had rung."

133. Genius!.....
176 . O'er Time it triumphs, winged with native force;
Nor Past, nor Future, circumscribe its course.
Mark how it leads a Milton's mental eye,
Thro' the vast glories of primeval sky;--
When Time itself was yet without a name;
And Present, and Eternal were the same!

134. Some Milton-mad (an affectation
B4. Glean'd up from college education)
1764. Approve no verse, but that which flows
In epithetic measur'd prose,
With trim expressions gaily drest
Stol'n, misapply'd, and not confest,
And call it writing in the stile
Of that great Homer of our isle.

Whilom, what time, efsoons, and erst,
(So prose is oftentimes beverst)
Sprinkled with quaint fantastic phrase,
Uncouth to ears of modern days,
Make up the metre which they call
Blank, classick Blank, their All in All.

Can only blank admit sublime?
Go, read and measure Dryden's rhyme.
Admire the magic of his song,
See how his numbers roll along,
With ease and strength and varied pause,
Nor cramp'd by sound, nor metre's laws.

Is harmony the gift of rhyme?
Read, if you can, your Milton's chime;
Where taste, not wantonly severe,
May find the measure, not the ear.

As rhyme, rich rhyme, was Dryden's choice,
And blank has Milton's nobler voice,
I deem it as the subjects lead,
That either Measure will succeed.
That rhyme will readily admit
Of fancy, numbers, force and wit;
But tho' each couplet has its strength,
It palls in works of epic length.

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132. Jas. Elphinston (1721-1809). Education, in Four Books. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1763. 28: 103-108.

133. Saml. Bishop (1731-1795). Ptl. Wks. (ed.Thos.Clare). London, 1796. 1: 221-225. Genius.

134. Robert Lloyd (1733-1764). On Rhyme. A Familiar Epistle To A Friend. Ptl. Wks. 1774. 2: 105-118. pp. 112-114.

135. Now lukewarm Ode in placid anger flows,
1764? No frenzy rouses, and no rapture glows;
Unless---- where FANCY, with a Milton's art,
Spreads all her beauties, and o'er-powers the heart.

136. Heaven claims its bards.....
1764. .....
Thus he, who grew immortal as he sung
The blissful pair in Eden's happy clime;
Rehearses now, with rapture on his tongue,
To gods the wonders of his theme sublime.

137. Or when, of earthly Story tir'd,
1765. To higher Knowledge I aspir'd,
Through young Creation rang'd along,
Imparadised in Milton's song.

138. Is this the land that boasts a Milton's fire,
1765. And magic Spenser's wildly-warbling lyre?
(and Shakespeare, Pope, Gray, Shenstone,
Young, Akenside)
And shall a Bufo's most polluted name
Stain her bright tablet of untainted fame!

139. But now a Garden, like that Eden fair,
1765. Where first weak Eve the wily Foe beguiled,
Unbounded, floating to the balmy air,
In all the pride of glowing Beauty smiled.

On loaded trees the clustering fruitage hung,
Ambrosia dropping from the mellow bough;
The plumy races harmonious anthems sung,
Or sipped the nectar'd rill that streamed below.

What Summer views in all her gay domain,
What Fable's airy pencil ere bestowed,
Whate'er Elysium's happy fields contain,
In rich profusion crowned this blest abode.

Nor yet wild-scattering spread the exhaustless store,
But Taste to range the copious growth combined;
Wild Fancy stooped to Reason's gentle lore,
And Nature's boon informing Art refined.

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135. Anon. The Laureat. A Poem. Inscribed to the Memory of C. Churchill. Cr. Rev. Feb., 1765. 19: 87-90.

136. Wm. Stevenson,M.D. (-). To the Memory of William Shenstone, Esq. Cr. Rev. Aug., 1765. 20: 133.

137. Geo. Keate (1729-1797). The Temple-Student: An Epistle To A Friend. Ptl. Wks. 1781. 1: 203-235. p. 234.

138. Jas. Beattie (1735-1803). On the Report of A Monument To Be Erected in Westminster Abbey, To the Memory of A Late Author. This author was C. Churchill, and this poem, in Beattie's own words, was "composed to gratify private resentment." Brit. Poets: Akenside and Beattie. Riverside ed. 1864. pp. 145-152.

139. John Ogilvie(1733-1813). Solitude; or, The Elysium of the Poets. Poems on Sev. Subjects, 1769. 2: 217-221. For contemporary criticism, see Cr. Rev. May, 1766. 21: 368-369. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1766. 34: 116-124. (Note continued on next page).

One tree o'er all sublime in grandeur stood:
So towers on Lebanon's exalted brow
A Cedar old, and sees the rising wood
Around its venerable Parent grow.

Beneath its shade, where sighed the dying gale,
Reposed an Inmate of th' ethereal skies:
With wavy radiance flamed his feathered mail,
And flashed keen lightening from his dazzling eyes.

His hand an apple held, delicious sight!
Not like the fruit that youthful Paris gave;
Smooth was the glossy rind, with vermeil bright,
Like Venus blushing from the silver wave.

Of power to cleanse the tainted heart from sin,
O'er the pure frame to bid corruption cease,
Tune the calm thoughts to harmony within,
And soothe the boiling passions into peace.

A Bard was near; and glittering by his side
The Child of magic song, the melting Lyre,
Whose frame with Music's sweetest breath supplied,
Wakes o'er the kindling soul celestial fire.

Awhile in converse high the Angel Guest
Held him: -- then sweeping o'er the sounding strings,
Such strains he pour'd, as mid the climes of rest
Thrill the high Audience when Urania sings.

As when an Hermit, whose sequestered cave
Deep in the shade of pathless wilds is thrown,
Sees the dim Spectre from the gloomy grave
Arroused, and hears the more than mortal tone;

Or ardent marks some bright ethereal band,
That tell the wonders of the worlds above;
How Earth obedient to the great Command
Arose: How Angels hymn the Source of Love!

Awe, Hope, and Transport seize him as he hears:
Such Passions rose when first the Bard began,
Sung how th' Eternal form'd the rolling spheres,
Or stamp'd the breathing dust, and call'd it MAN.

To Heav'n high-soaring burst th' exalted song.
Of impious deeds I heard, and dire alarms;
Two mighty hosts I saw, tremendous throng!
Tower in refulgent mail, and azure arms.

Radiant they trod in panoply divine:
Their Chiefs, dark-frowning in the van, afar
Like promontories moved: -- the dreadful sign
Was given, and rush'd th' angelic tribes to war.

(139 continued)

The Introduction to this Poem is important as an attempt to justify the relative position and worth assigned the several poets. The author is giving "in a short compass the character, merit, and discriminating excellencies of the most eminent British Poets." As such, Milton appears only as an epic poet, though Ogilvie has pilfered much from Milton's smaller poems.

'Twas Thou, Omnipotent! whose parent care
Then held each link of Nature's beauteous chain;
Else had yon worlds amid the fields of air
Been whirl'd, and Night resumed her dark domain.

How swell'd the soul, as with its shaggy store
Torn was the fix'd hill from the rocks below;
As each strong arm th' inverted mountain bore,
And hurl'd th' o'erwhelming ruin on the Foe!

Not long I gazed, when down the rending skies
The rushing chariot of Jehovah came:
I saw the wheels, instinct with living eyes,
Wrapt in the Lightning's broad and sheeted flame.

Black thunder roar'd around th' avenging God;
While on the Whirlwind's wing before Him driven,
The rebel crew beheld their dark abode,
Then roll'd wild-howling o'er the verge of Heaven.

Thus sung the Bard; and still to sight display'd,
Rose with his strain each vivid scene to view;
To thought so just was Fancy's powerful aid,
He light so piercing, and her shades so true.

140. B4. 1766. Here, Mighty Milton! in the blaze of noon,
Amid the broad effulgence, here I fix
Thy radiant tabernacle. Nought is dark
In thee, thou bright companion of the Sun!
Thus thy own Uriel in its centre stands
Illustrious, waving glory round him! He,
Fairest archangel of all spirits in heaven,
As of the sons of men the greatest thou.

141. B4. 1766. If he, who first the apple sung, "the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,"
Unfading laurels won; a branch awaits,
Philips, thy youthful brow, who apples sung
Innocuous, and with freedom bade us quaff
Their generous nectar, neath their parent shade,
Advent'rous; nor in less inferior strains,
Like Milton too, you taught Britannia's song
To shake the shackles off of tinkling rhyme,
Emulate, unnervous.

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140. Wm. Thompson (1712-1766). In Milton's Alcove.
141. Same. In the Midst of an Apple-Tree, Over Mr. Philips's Cyder. See the Garden Inscriptions. Anderson, Brit. Poets, 10: 993, 996.

There was published, in 1766, a poem entitled The Authors, by D. Hayes, Esq., which has lines on Milton introducing Akenside; but the poem has not been accessible for the present work. See Cr. Rev. June, 1766. 21: 476-478.

142. The Captain's a worthy good sort of a man,
Bath, For he calls in upon us whenever he can,
1766. And often a dinner or supper he takes here,
And Jenny and he talk of Milton and Shakespeare.

143. What honours, ye Britons! (one emblem implies)
1766? What glory to George shall belong!
What Miltons, (the other) what Addisons rise,
To make him immortal in song!

144. Man formed for eternity,
July Abhors annihilation, and the thought
1766. Of dark oblivion. Hence, with ardent wish
And vigorous effort, each would fondly raise
Some lasting monument, to save his name
Safe from the waste of years. Hence Caesar fought;
Hence Raphael painted; and hence Milton sung.

145. To Spencer much, to Milton much is due;
1767. But in great Dryden we preserve the Two.
What Muse but his can nature's beauties hit,
Or catch that airy fugitive, call'd wit?

146. O Pope! too great to copy, or to praise;
1767. .....
Milton alone could Eden lost re-gain;
And only thou portray Messiah's reign.

147. I cannot think but more or less
1768. True merit always gains success;
.....
The second name for epic song,
First classic of the English tongue,
Great Milton, when first appear'd,
Was ill receiv'd and coldly heard.
In vain did faction damn those lays
Which all posterity shall praise.

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142. Christopher Anstey (1724-1805). The New Bath Guide: or, Memoirs of the B-n-r-d Family. In a series of Poetical Epistles. Bath, 1809. Letter ii.

143. John Cunningham (1729-1773). Stanzas on the Forwardness of Spring. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 14: 437.

144. Michael Bruce (1746-1767). The Last Day. Anderson, Brit. Poets, 11: 1124-1128.

145. Walter Harte (1709-1774). The Vision of Death. In The Amaranth, or Religious Poems. Cr. Rev. Aug., 1767. 24: 121-124.

146. Same. Macarius; or, The Confessor. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 16: 390-392.

147. Wm. Wilkie (1721-1772). Phebus and the Shepherd. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 16: 189.

148. The sun of science in its morning warm'd--
1768. How glorious, when it blazed in Milton's light,
And Shakespeare's flame, to full meridian day.

149. Ah! What the transient sounds, devoid of thought,
c1769. To Shakespeare's flame of ever-burning ire,
Or Milton's flood of mind, till time expire
Foredoom'd to flow; as Heaven's dread energy,
Unconscious of the bounds of place.

150. One lattice glimmers in the dismal cell,
1769. Which cause, like the flames in Milton's hell,
"No light, but rather darkness visible."

151. The poet, who would plan the perfect page,
1769. Above the themes that touch a trivial age,
. . . . . .
Say! to what purpose drinks he of the streams,
That fills the fancy with inspiring dreams,
If in that hour, when richest raptures roll,
The pinch of poverty benum his soul?
For a day's meal had Milton felt a fear,
Urania's voice had vainly reached his ear;
Thro' night's dark desert the fiend ne'er had stray'd,
Nor earth-rent mountains cast their horrid shade.

152. From yonder realm of empyrean day
1769. Bursts on my ear th' indignant lay;
There sit the sainted sage, the bard divine,
The few, whom genius gave to shine
Through every unborn age, and undiscovered clime.
. . . . . .
'Twas Milton struck the deep-toned shell,
And, as the choral warblings round him swell,
Meek Newton's self bends from his state sublime,
And nods his hoary head, and listens to the rhyme.

153. Ye Muses quit your sacred streams,
And aid me like the bard of yore,
Hight, Milton, for like his, my theme
In verse was never sung before.

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148. Edw. Lovibond (1724-1775). Verses Written after Passing Through Findon, Sussex, 1768. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 16: 299.

149. Wm.J. Mickle (1735-1788). On The Neglect of Poetry. Anderson, Brit. Poets, 11: 670. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 17: 553-4.

150. Francis Seighton. The Muse's Blossoms. Highly praised in the Mo. Rev. April, 1769. 40: 302.

It describes the lad's prison at school, where he was shut up for eating tarts when he should have been reading Homer.

151. Thos. Neville. Imitations of Juvenal and Persius. Mo. Rev. Jan., 1770. 42: 46.

152. Thos. Gray. The Installation Ode.

153. Anon. Ode To Lord Edgecombe's Pig. The New Foundling Hospital for Wit. 1784. 6: 240.

154. No more the Grecian Muse unrivall'd reigns,
c1771. To Britian let the nations homage pay;
She felt a Homer's fire in Milton's strains,
A Pindar's rapture from the lyre of Gray.

155. There silent mus'd on Shakespeare's tragic page,
Of Milton learn'd to scale the azure road,
Chanted Maeonides' poetic rage,
And read, O Pope! thy equal thoughts of God.

156. No, not in rhyme. I hate that iron chain,
1773. Forged by the hand of some rude Goth, which cramps
The fairest feather in the Muse's wing,
And pins her to the ground. Shall the quick thought
That darts from world to world, and traverses
The realms of time, and space, all fancy-free,
Check in his rapid, obey the call
Of some barbarian, who by sound enslaved,
And deaf to manly melody, proclaims,
"No farther shalt thou go?" Pent in his cage
The imprisoned eagle sits, and beats his bars;
His eye is raised to Heaven. Tho' many a moon
Has seen him pine in sad captivity,
Still to the thunderer's throne he longs to bear
The bolt of vengeance; still he thirsts to dip
His daring pinions in the fount of light.
Go, mark the lettered sons of Gallia's clime,
Where critic rules, custom's tyrant law,
Have fettered the free verse. On the palled ear
The drowsy numbers, regularly dull,
Close in slow tedious unison. Not so
The bard of Eden; to the Grecian Lyre
He tuned his verse; he loved the genuine muse,
That from the top of Athos circled all
The fertile islands of the Aegean deep.
Or roamed o'er fair Ionia's winding shore.
Poet of other times, to thee I bow
With lowliest reverence. Oft thou tak'st my soul,
And waftest it by thy potent harmony
To that empyreal mansion, where thine ear
Caught the soft warblings of a Seraph's harp,
What time the nightly visitent unlocked
The gates of Heaven, and to thy mental sight
Displayed celestial scenes. She from thy lyre
With indignation tore the tinkling bells,
And tuned it to sublimest argument.

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154. Wm. Mason. On Mr. Gray, in Westminster Abbey. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 18: 338.

155. Anon. A Farewell To Summer. Bell, Fug. Poetry, 8: 74-78.

156. Wm. Roberts (1745-1791). A Poetical Epistle To Christopher Anstey, Esq. On The English Poets, Chiefly Those Who Have Written In Blank Verse. 4to. Payne. 1773. Very favorably received by both Reviews. Cr. Rev. Jan.,1773. 35: 52-54. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1773. 48: 145-148.

Sooner the bird that ushering in the spring
Strikes the same notes with one unvarying pause,
Shall vye with Philomel, when she pursues
Her evening song through every winding maze
Of melody, than rhyme shall sooth the soul
With music sweet as thine.

157. "But how," they ask, "can we this gem obtain?"
Wr. Be that thy task, O Lucas, to explain.
1770. As Milton, eyeless bard, has sweetly sung
The fatal source whence all our woes first sprung,
So he has taught, though not in measured phrase,
A lesson which deserves full greater praise;
How man (as once in Eden) may be blest,
And paradise be found in every breast.
O! may you find it there, may you obtain
The bliss which too much knowledge rendered vain,
By tasting boldly the fair fruit again.

Lucas like Milton, wondrous bard, was blind,
Like Milton too, illumined was his mind:
Then ask thy Guide, for he who seeks shall find.

158. Again I pace thee, magic town;
Again recall thy past renown.
....
When Milton's wand Arcadia ruled;
Or Comus and the midnight crew
Their playful spirits hither drew;
Where in the mortal habit came
The Genius of the Vestal flame.
.....
The lay of Milton I can hear.

159. I woo nor thee, thou goddess, heavn'nly bright!
c1776. Fair Muse...(of Homer and Virgil).....
Nor thee, who gavst thine aid of later years
To him, great bard, Britannia's boasted pride,
Majestic Milton; who, in verse no less
Sublime, a theme unsung before display'd.

160. America, with just disdain,
April Will burst degenerate Britain's chain,
1776. And gloriously aspire;
I see new Lockes and Camdens rise,
Whilst other Newtons read the skies,
And Miltons wake the lyre.

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157. Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770). Enquiry After Happiness. Written in May (?), 1770, and printed in the Gospel Magazine in November of that year. Ptl. Wks. of T. Chatterton(Skeat). 1: 184.

158. Geo.(Justice) Hardinge (1743-1816). On. Ludlow. Nichols, Lit. Illus. 3: 802.

159. Chas. Crawford (-). The First Canto of The Revolution: an Epic Poem. Cr. Rev. June, 1776. 41: 475-478.

160. John Debrett (-1822). Lord Chatham's Prophecy. An Ode. New Foundling Hospital for Wit. 1784. 1: 75-91. Stanza ix.

161. The Masque of Comus, which the eyeless Bard
1776. (Britannia's Homer) in immortal verse
April. Gave to th' admiring world, where moral grave,
Pleasure's allurements, and the bevel route
Of Bacchanalian Riot, Dance and Song,
.....
In mingled measure charmed the eye and ear.

162. That mighty Visitant.....
1776. ..... when he left immortal choirs,
To mix with Milton's kindred soul,
The labours of their golden lyres
Would steal, and "whisper whence he stole."

The Muse's gentle offering still
Your ear shall winn, your love shall woo,
And these spring-flowers of Milton fill
The favour'd vales where first they grew.

163. When Milton sings of Angels bold in fight,
Pub. Or blooming Cherubs half-dissolv'd in light;
1776. Or leads his Eve to Adam's longing arms,
In all the lustre of primeval charms:
Fir'd with the song, thro' Eden's blisful groves,
With the first pair th' enraptur'd fancy roves,
'Midst crystal founts or amaranthine bow'rs,
Ambrosial fruits, and ever-blooming flowers,
We trace each step by various passions tost,
And quit with tears the Paradise they lost.
Like that blest pair, by Gainsb'rough's pencil drawn,
Here each fond couple treads the flow'ry lawn;
.....
But when the landskip's various charms we trace,
Where Nature's self appears with heighten'd grace;
.....
Each landskip seems a Paradise regained.

164. But whilst he gives their well-earn'd praise
1776. To classic wits of ancient days,
He none superior finds to those,
Who in our seats of learning rove.
Again in Milton Homer lives;
The Stagyrite in Locke revives.

165. But Popularity, alas! has wings,
1777. And flits as soon from poets as from kings.
My pompous Postscript found itself disdained
As much as Milton's Paradise Regained.

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161. Robert Jephson (1736-1803). Extempore Ludicrous Miltonic Verses. To the late Mrs. Gardiner. Debrett. Asylum for Fugitive Pieces. 3: 266-267.

162. Dr. John Langhorne (1735-1779). A Poetical Epistle To A Gentleman of Italy. Appended to Milton's Italian Poems, p. . Mo. Rev. Nov., 1776. 55: 383-385.

163. Rich. Graves (1715-1804). On Mr. Gainsborough; Equally Excellent in Landskip and Portraits. Euphrosyne. 1: 131-132.

164. Same. Euphrosyne. 2: 57-64. p. 60.

165. Wm. Mason (1724-1797). An Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare. Chalmers, Eng.Pts, 18: 416. New Foundling Hospital, 1784. 2: 33.

166. The daughters and the sons of Phoebus,
1778. Who twine the riddle and the rebus,
Acrostics weave,.....
Up to the aspiring bards who soar
Aloft in proud Miltonic-----!

167. Thou Swan of Avon! how I love thy strains!
1779. Cherub of Eden! clap thy gorgeous wings:
Tell the sweet singers how the lark maintains
Gay from the grassy bed her airy wings:
Dash'd by the sighings of an eastern wind,
The pretty warbler wheels and pants for fear;
And seeing heaven before, and earth behind,
Drops to her nest, and whispers,--God was there.

168. O'er those rude scenes Confusion's shadows dwell,
1780. Beyond the power of genius to dispell;
Mist! which ev'n Milton's splendid mind enshroud;
Lost in the darkness of the Saxon cloud!

169. Ages leapsed ere Homer's lamp appear'd,
Wr. And ages ere the Mantuan Swan was heard,
1781. To carry nature lenghts unknown before,
Pub. To give a Milton birth, ask's ages more.
1782. Thus Genius rose and set at order'd times,
And shot a day-spring into distant climes,
Ennobling ev'ry region that he chose;
He sunk in Greece, in Italy he rose;
And, tedious years of Gothic darkness pass'd,
Emerg'd all splendour in our isle at last.

170. (Suggestion for painting)
1782. Bid Milton's Satan from the burning steep
Call his wide legions, slumb'ring on the deep.

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166. Christopher Anstey (1724-1805). Envy; A Poem. Addressed to Mrs. Miller, at Bath-Easton-Villa. 4to. Dodsley. Mo. Rev. July, 1778. 59: 72.

167. John Wheeldon.(-). The Jewish Bard. In 4 Odes, to the Holy Mountains. 4to. Goldsmith. 1779. Mo. Rev. August, 1779. 61: 93-95.

168. Wm. Hayley (1745-1820). An Essay on History (3 Epistles). Epistle iii. lines 313-316. Argument: "Danger of dwelling on the distant and minute parts of a subject really interesting. Failure of Milton in this particular." Poems and Plays, London, 1785. 2:82. This was addressed to Gibbon.

169. Wm. Cowper (1731-1800). Table Talk. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 18: 605-611. p. 609.

170. John Scott (1730-1783). An Essay On Painting. To A Young Artist. Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 17: 491-496. Scott's Collected Works, 1782.

171. Apart, and on a sacred hill retired,
1782. Beyond all mortal inspiration fir'd,
The mighty Milton sits--- an host around
Of list'ning angels guard the holy ground;
Amaz'd they see a human form aspire
To grasp with daring hand a seraph's lyre,
Inly irradiate with celestial beams,
Attempt those high, those soul-subduing themes,
And celebrate, with sanctity divine,
The starry from warring angels won,
And God triumphant in his Victor Son.
Nor less the wonder, and the sweet delight,
His milder scenes and softer notes excite,
When at his bidding Eden's blooming grove
Breathes the rich sweets of innocence and love.
With such pure joy as our fore-fathers knew
When Raphael, heavenly guest, first met his view,
And our glad sire, within his bower,
Drank the pure converse of th' aetherial power,
Round the blest bard his raptur'd audience throng,
And feel their souls imparadis'd in song.

If the Enthusiast higher hope pursues,
.....
O turn where Milton flames with Epic rage.
.....
From earth she (the Muse) bears him to bright Fancy's goal,
And distant fame illuminates his soul.

172. O! was I blest with each heart-melting trope,
1783. The wing of Milton, and the flow of Pope,
Was all the melody of Warton's mine,
And all the music of the tuneful Nine;
To thee, Columba, ever, ever true,
My softest song should flow, to soften you.

173. Hither the Muse would sometimes bend her way,
1783. Willing to loiter, but afraid to stay;
Until bright spirits of etherial fire
Raised the charm'd note, and waked the British lyre,
Shakespeare and Milton! Listening to their lays,
How soon unfelt were Albion's clouded days.

174. I see a Homer and a Milton rise
1783. In all the pomp and majesty of song,
Which gives immortal vigour to the deeds
Atchieved by heroes in the field of fame.

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171. Wm. Hayley. An Essay On Epic Poetry. To Mr. Mason. Hayley's Poems and Plays, London, 1785. Vol. III, pp. 73, 96. The Critical Review (Oct.,1782. 54: 241-52) quotes the first of these as a choice selection. Cf. Tribute No. 89n.

172. Miles Parkin. Columba, A Ptl. Epistle, heroic and Satirical, to the Rt.Hon. Chas. Earl Conrwallis. 4to. Debrett. To urge reconciliation between Eng. and Amer. Cr.Rev.Oct.,1783.56:311-2.

173. Fred.Howard (1748-1825). 5th. Earl of Carlisle. The Father's Revenge. A Tragedy. London, 1800.

174. Anon. The Rising Glory of America. New Fndlg Hospital for Wit. 4: 247-257.

175. Tho' his contention with the scribbling crowd
c1784. Was like the Sun contending with a cloud,
Which the next wind would hastily disperse,
And leave the day as radiant as his verse.

176. Hence, free from warlike toils and stern debate,
1785. These friendly rivals of a parent state,
By growing virtues their descent shall prove,
Each liberal art aspiring to improve,
Till other Lockes and Miltons shall be born,
Ages remote to polish and adorn.

177. Then Milton had indeed a poet's charms:
1785. New to my taste his Paradise surpass'd
The struggling efforts of my boyish tongue
To speak its excellence, I danced for joy.
I marvelled much that at so ripe an age
As twice seven years, his beauties had then first
Engag'd .my wonder; and admiring still,
And still admiring, with regret suppos'd
The joy half lost, because not sooner found.

178. And thou, immortal Bard! by Seraphs crowned!
1785. Whether with lively Mirth and Pleasure gay,
Thou listen to the jocund rebec's sound,
Or frame the melting melancholy lay;

Still dost thou charm no less than when thy song
Majestic bids our fearful eyes behold
Angelic combat, and the rebel throng
Down from the verge of Heaven headlong rolled.

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175. Anon. A Dialogue Between Dr. Johnson and Dr Goldsmith, in the Shades, relative the former's Strictures on the English Poets, particularly Pope, Milton, and Gray.

"The poor Doctor (Johnson) pleads guilty to the charge of partiality," but attempts to atone for the evil by a character of Milton, quoted by the Critical Review, as "inferior to nothing in this performance." April, 1785. 59: 304-305.

176. Rev. J. Gilpin. An Essay upon the Peace of 1783, dedicated to the Archbishop of Paris. Translated from the French of the Rev. J. Fletcher, late Vicar of Madeley, Salop. 4tp. Hindmarsh. 1785. These are lines on the American Colonies. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1786. 74: 147.

177. Wm. Cowper (1731-1800). The Task. Bk.iv., 709-717.

178. Saml. Knight (1759-1827). Elegies and Sonnets. 4to. Cadell. 1785. 2nd. ed. 1787. Taken from the Mo. Rev. Aug., 1785. 73: 121-123. For the author, see Mo. Rev. Aug., 1787. 77: 160.

Since then the noblest of the tuneful art
Have deigned to lay aside the bolder lyre,
And touch with sweet simplicity the heart;
With me, my Friend, the artless strain admire.

Convinced, Ambition's fond pursuit give o'er;
Content be thou with milder rays to shine:
Few can attain the wreath that Milton wore,
But Hammond's myrtle chaplet may be thine.

179. In happier times, in Charles' golden reign,
? c. How oft did Dryden, at thy shrine complain?
1786. Did patriot Milton ever feel thy smile?
(At once the shame and glory of our isle!)

180. Immortal Freedom!
1787. .....
And far as memory traces back my ears,
My soul, tho' touch'd with social sympathies,
Revolted at oppression.--- Nymph divine!
If from the sound of Milton's golden lyre;
Of Thomson's Doric pipe.....
.....
Thou now withhold thine audience: -- hither turn
Indulgent; for tho' sweeter song hath charm'd,
Yet praise sincerer never met thine ear.

181. O, in your gardens love wild Nature's plan;
1790. For God himself the model gave to man!
When Milton's hand the blessed asylum wove,
Where our first parents wandered rich in love;
Did he with frigid rules the each path restrain?
Did he in fetters vile the waves enchain?
Did he a load of foreign splendours fling,
O'er earth's soft infancy, and earliest spring?
No! artless, unconfined, there Nature bland
With loveliest fancies decked the laughing land.
Of hills and vales the bright confusion gay,
And streams, that as they lift, meand'ring play.
The doubtful paths that ever wind along,
Still with new views, their varying joys prolong.
There ever stray their eyes with fresh delight,
Unknowing where to fix the ravished sight.
O'er the green velvet of the enamelled meads,
A thousand trees wave high their tufted heads,
And charm each sense of smell, of taste, or view,
With blossoms fair, or fruits of glossy hue.
Or in thick clumps, or negligently spread,
They clothe, or fly; here from a deep'ning glade,
A landscape gay expands its op'ning charms;

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179. Anon. To Fortune. J. Debrett, An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces. 1786. 2: 228-233.

180. Wm. Roscoe (1753-1831). The Wrongs of Africa. See p. below.

181. Abbe de Lille. The Garden: or, The Art of Laying Out Grounds. Translated from the French of the Abbe de Lille. Cadell. This passage has popular interest, as appears from the Critical Review, Oct., 1790. 70: 409-414. Cf. Appendix I, p. 323.

There to the ground low bend their branching arms,
And gently check their steps, or in mid air
High o'er their heads a verdant chaplet rear:
Or as they muse beneath the noon-tide bower,
Fling o'er their hair a bloomy scented shower.
Why should I sing the luscious shrubs, the vines,
Where round each bow'r their verdant curtain twines?
There blushing like the rising morn, while love
Beamed from each eye, Eve sought the nuptial grove,
And to her youthful lover's longing arms
Obsequious yielded all her virgin charms.
The genial hour exulting Nature hails,
Their sighs ecstatic swell the gentle gales,
Murmur the waves, fair smile the heavens above,
And joyful earth congratulates their love;
Whisper the groves, the rose inclines its head,
And flings fresh odors o'er the bridal bed.
O joys ineffable! O happy pair!
How blessed, like you, who 'mid their gardens fair
May dwell, from painful pride afar, may rove
'Mid fruits and flowers with innocence and love.

182. 'Twas night, and buried in profound repose,
1790. The numerous tribes of busy mortals lay,
My wakeful eyes alone forget to close,
And thought succeeded to the cares of day:
Till wearied nature sunk at length to rest,
But Fancy hovering still around my head;
Fancy, the sleepless tenant of the breast,
Its airy visions o'er my slumbers spread:
When to my view a grizly form appears,
Of mein majestic, but dejected hue,
Reverend, sunk deeply in the vale of years,
The Father of the English Song I knew.
Hail, cried I, Author of immortal lays--
My Son, said he, these titles now forbear,
No time remains to waste in useless praise,
A different subject now demands our care!
Thou know'st, and oft hast mourn'd how hard my lot,
Of evil days and evil tongues the prey,
Dishonour'd, unrewarded, and forgot,
I sunk the unheeded victim of decay,
Obscurely in a vault my corpse was laid,
Fenc'd by no shelter from the common doom,
No voice of praise was heard to sooth my shade,
No pomp of funeral adorn'd my tomb:
Yet saw I sons their fathers faults disclaim,
The tribute long withheld of honour pay,
My strains victorious fill'd the voice of fame,
Nor grieved I though my corpse unheeded lay.

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182. Annn. Milton's Ghost. An Elegy. J. Debrett, Asylum for Fug. Pieces, 1795. 4: 123-125.

Written in the year 1790, when a report prevailed that the Grave of Milton had been discovered in Cripplegate Church-Yard, on which occasion the supposed Remains of this famous Poet were dug, and suffered for some days to remain exposed to public view.

But, ah, how shall I tell the dire disgrace!
With hands profane my tomb they now disclose,
My bones torn rudely from their garve deface,
And rob my ashes of their due repose!
Was it for this I toiled in freedom's cause,
With ceaseless care the arduous labour ply'd,
Dethroning tyrants, and asserting laws,
Till light, alas, its friendly aid deny'd?
Was it for this, though quenched my visual ray,
I woo'd the Muse to build the lofty rhyme,
To more than mortal themes attun'd my lay,
And soar'd beyond the bounds of space and time?
Is this the fame I hop'd from future days,
Are these mighty honours they bestow--
With sacrilegious hands my corpse to raise,
My bones expose a mercenary show?
To brand the wretches, who the dead invade,
With shame and feel remorse be thine the care.
The cock was heard to crow-- no more he said,
And the thin vision vanquished into air.

183. O for the pen of Milton, to describe
1790. Thy winning sadness, thy subduing sigh,
Gentle Maria; to describe thy pains,
Assiduous Frederic, to alleviate grief
And hang a smile upon thy Anna's brow;
To paint the sweet composure of thy looks,
Experienc'd Adriano, thy attempt
To waken cheerfulness, and frequent eye
Stealing aside in pity to Maria.

184. But since the gaping world in deep amaze
1791. Still on thy last eccentric pamphlet gaze,
Which like great Milton's hero o'er the plain
Where tumult, discord, and sedition reign.

185. God of ten million charming things,
1791. Of whom our Milton so divinely sings.

186. Whist: a Poem, in Twelve Cantos.
1791. See note below.

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183. James Hurdis (1763-1801). Adriano; or, The First of June. In these lines, Sophia is weeping for her brother Gilbert, whom she supposes to be drowned. Mo.Rev. Sept., 1790. 84(3): 51-59.

184. Anon. Heroic Epistle To Joseph Priestly, LL.D., F.R.S. (1733-1804). Cr. Rev. Oct.,1791. n.s. 3:212-214.

185. Peter Pindar, John Wolcot (1738-1819). Ode To Hymen; or, The Hectic. The Works of Peter Pindar, Esq. London, 1794. III. 43. Quoted also in the Crit. Review, June, 1791. n.s. 2: 220-223.

186. Alex. Thomson (1763-1803). Whist: A Poem. The fifth canto of this very popular poem "opens with a humourous comparison between the show progress of Milton's Paradise Lost and the Game of Whist toward popularity. Mo.Rev.Dec.,1791. 87(6): 401-404. Crit. Rev. May, 1791. n.s. 2: 18-27.

187. In Youth.
1791. Milton, our noblest poet, in the grace
Of youth, in those fair eyes and clustering hair,
That brow untouched by one faint of care,
To mar its openness, we seem to trace
The front of the first lord of human race,
'Mid thine own Paradise portrayed so fair,
Ere Sin or Sorrow scatched it: such the air
That characters thy youth. Shall time efface
These lineaments as crowding cares assail!
It is the lot of fall'n humanity.
What boots it? armed in adamantine mail,
The unconquerable mind, and genius high,
Right onward hold their way through weal and woe,
Or whether life's brief lot be high or low!

In Age.

And art thou he now "fall'n on evil days,"
And changed indeed! Yet what do this sunk cheek,
These thinner locks, and that calm forehead speak!
A spirit reckless of man's blame or praise,----
A spirit, when thine eyes to the noon's blaze
Their dark orbs roll in vain, in suffering meek,
As in the sight of God intent to seek,
'Mid solitude or age, or through the ways,
Of hard adversity, the approving look
Of its great Master; whilst the conscious pride
Of wisdom, patient and content to brook
All ills to that sole Master's task applied,
Shall show before high heaven the unaltered mind,
Milton, though thou art poor, and old, and blind!

188. For in his own and in his Father's might
1794. The Savior comes! While as the Thousand Years
Lead up their mystic dance, the Desert shouts!
Old Ocean claps his hands! The mighty Dead
Rise to new life, whoe'er from earliest time
With conscious zeal had urged Love's wondrous plan,
Coadjutors of God. To Milton's trump
The high groves of the renovated Earth
Unbosom their glad echoes: inly hushed,
Adoring Newton his serener eye
Raises to heaven.

189. The Progress of Poetry, Painting, and Music.
1794. See note below.

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187. W.L. Bowles (1762-1850). On the Busts of Milton, in Youth and Age, at Stourhead. Ptl. Wks.(Gilfillan). 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1855. 1: 30-31.

188. S.T. Coleridge (1772-1834). Religious Musings..... Christmas Eve of 1794. Globe Edition, p. 59.

189. John Bidlake (1755-1814). The Progress of Poetry, &c. Poems. 4to. Chapman, 1794. Has lines on Milton, but not found for this paper. Mo. Rev. March, 1795. 97(16): 255-261.

190. All hail, thou Western World! by heaven design'd
1794. Th' example bright, to renovate mankind:
. . . . . .
Where slept perennial night, shall science rise,
And new-born Oxfords cheer the evening skies;
Miltonic strains the Mexic hills prolong,
And Louis murmurs to Sicilian song.

See rising bards ascend the steep of fame!
Where truth commends and virtue gives a name,
With Homer's life, with Milton's strength aspire,
Or catch divine Isaiah's hallow'd fire.

191. In Homer's craft Jock Milton thrives;
B4 Eschylus' pen Will Shakespeare drives.
1796.

192. (Milton and Homer, sitting, appeared equal; but)
1796. When each uprear'd
His mighty stature, Britain's giant son
Would proudly rise, and leave the Greek below.

193. Now their new guest the sacred hosts include,
1797. They who on earth with kindred lustre shone.
. . . . . .
There 'mid empyreal light shall hail his Gray;
There Milton thron'd in peerless glory see;
The wreath that flames on Thomson's brow survey;
The vacant crown that, Cowper, waits for thee.

194. Come, Muse of Albion! who in Thomson's verse
1797. Breathed Liberty's extatic ardent strain,
Who gave to Addison a Cato's soul,
To Milton, his sublime exalted strength,
And to th' inimitable Shakespeare's verse,
The genuine stamp of nature, awful, true
And forceful as th' impetuous gust of heaven;
Give me to share their energy divine:
Give me to paint, in ardent numbers bold.

195. What measure the relation needs
1798. Of heaven's or earth's heroic deeds,
Milton points out, unless I err;
Though some a different verse prefer.

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190. Timothy Dwight (1752-1817). Greenfield Hill (Conn.). N.Y., 1794. Part II, lines 733-736; VII, 483-486.

191. Robert Burns (1759-1796). Poem on Pastoral Poetry. The Poetry of R-B- (Henley-Henderson), 1896. 4:50-52. Cf. 4: 105n.

192. Alex. Thomson (1763-1803). The Paradise of Taste. In this allegorical poem, the author is conducted to the Mt. of Sublimity. On the foot-hills, he finds Young; higher up, among others, Thomson and Akenside; on the very pinnacle, Homer and Milton. Crit. Rev. Feb., 1797. n.s. 19: 129-137.

193. Thos. Gisborne (1748-1846). Elegy To the Memory of the Rev. Wm. Mason. Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 18: 319.

194. Saml. Hull Wilcocke. Britannia: a Poem. See Mo. Rev. Dec., 1797. 105(24): 454-457.

195. John Penn. Crit., Ptl., and Dramatic Wks. Vol.II. See Cr. Rev. Dec., 1798. n.s. 24: 475-476.

196. It was not thus, when Milton's voice began
1799. To sing of Eden lost by guilty man:
Him on her wings celestial rapture bore
To heights which mortal never reached before:
Heav'n's awful splendours to his sight display'd,
And all the horrors of the infernal shade.

197. Then thy mighty ear
1800. Thrilled with strange music; if the tragic plaints
And sounding lyre of those Athenians old,
.....
Or more majestic Homer swelled thy soul,
Or Milton's muse of fire.

198. Nor less delight
1801. The Spirit felt, when still and charmed I sate
Great Milton's solemn harmonies to hear,
That swell from the full chord, and strong and clear,
Beyond the tuneless couplets' weak control,
Their long-commingling diapason roll,
In varied sweetness.

199. Milton! thou should'st be living at this hour:
1802. England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword, and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men;
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
Thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart:
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness: and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

200. We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
1802. That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.

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196. Alex. Thomson (1763-1803). Pictures of Poetry, &c. 8vo. Edin., 1799. Mo. Rev. Oct., 1800. 114(33): 149-153. Has also splendid verses on Young. Cr. Rev. Nov., 1799. n.s. 27:260-268.
See Lady Manners's Review of Poetry, Anc. and Modern. A Poem. 4to. Booth. 1799. Mo. Rev. Dec., 1799. 111(30): 390-3.

197. Richard Mant (1776-1848). Encomium On Joseph Warton. Chalmers, Eng. Pts., 18: 156-7. Highly commended by the Mo. Rev. Nov., 1801. 117(36): 323-4.

198. W.L.Bowles. Monody of the Death of Dr. Warton. Poems, vol.II. Cr. Rev. Aug., 1801. n.s. 32: 424-429.

199. Wm. Wordsworth (1770-1850). Sonnet. London.

200. Wm. Wordsworth."It Is Not To Be Thought Of."

201. 1803. Come ye-- who, not less zealous, might display
Banners at enmity with regal sway,
And, like the Pyms and Miltons of that day,
Think that a State would live in sounder health
If Kingship bowed its head to common-wealth.

202. 1803. And thou, sublimest Milton, from whose tongue
Flow'd holy inspiration, when beset
With poverty, with sorrow, blame and scorn,
"With darkness and with dangers compassed round,"
What but the Muse, thy dreary rooms could light
With glories of seraphic brilliancy!

203. 1806. Again, forsaking mirth's fantastic rites,
The Muse to follow, through her nobler flights;
Where Milton paints angelic hosts in arms,
And Heaven's wide champaign rings with dire alarms,
Till 'vengeful justice wings its dreadful way,
And hurls the apostate from the face of day.
Immortal Bards! High o'er oblivion's shroud
Their names shall live, pre-eminent and proud,
Who snatched the keys of mystery from time,
This world too little for their Muse sublime!

204. 1812. Beneath the spreading platan's tent-like shade,
Or by Missouri's rushing waters laid,
"Old father Thames" shall be the poets' theme,
Of Hayley's words th' enamoured virgin dream,
And Milton's tones the raptured ear enthrall,
Mixed with the roaring of Niagara's fall.

205. Nov. 1815. With reverence would we speak of all the sages
Who have left streaks of light athwart their ages:
And thou shouldst moralize on Milton's blindness,
And mourn the fearful dearth of human kindness
To those who strove with the bright golden wing
Of genius, to flap away each sting
Thrown by the pitiless world.

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201. Wm. Wordsworth. Lines on the Expected Invasion.

202. Sir. S.E.Brydges(1762-1837). Retirement, a Ptl.Fragment. Brydges, Cens. Lit. 1: 426.

203. Thos. Gent. Prologue To Public Readings, At A Young Gentleman's Academy. Poetic Sketches. J. Beart, Yarmouth.

204. Mrs. Anna L. Barbauld (1743-1825)."1811." Wks. 1: 237.

205. John Keats (1795-1821). Epistle To George Pelton Mathew. The Ptl. Wks.(Buxton). 1: 45.

Keats wrote Notes on Paradise Lost in 1819. See his Poetical Works (Buxton). III, pp. 19-30. He also wrote a sonnet To Sleep, over Paradise Lost. Ptl. Wks., II. p. 347.

206. Jan. 1818.

Chief of organic numbers!
Old Scholar of the Spheres!
Thy Spirit never slumbers,
But rolls about our ears,
For ever and fro ever!
O what a mad endeavour
Worketh he,
Who to thy sacred and ennobled hearse
Would offer a burnt sacrifice of verse
And melody.

How heavenward thou soundest,
Live Temple of sweet noise,
And discord unconfoundest,
Giving Delight new joys,
And Pleasure nobler pinions!
O, Where are thy dominions?
Lend thine ear
To a young Delian-- ay, by thy soul,
By all that from thy mortal lips did roll,
And by the kernel of thine earthly love,
Beauty, in things on earth, and things above,
I swear!
When every childish fashion
Has vanish'd from my rhyme,
Will I grey-gone in passion,
Leave to an after-time,
Hymning and harmony
Of thee, and of thy works, and of thy life;
But vain is now the burning and the strife,
Pangs are in vain, until I grow high-rife
With old Philosophy.
And mad with glimpses of futurity!
For many years my offering must be hush'd;
When I dod speak, I'll think upon this hour,
Because I feel my forehead hot and flush'd.
Even at the simplest vassal of thy power, --
A lock of thy bright hair--
Sudden it came,
And I was startled, when I caught thy name
Coupled so unaware;
Yet, at the moment, temperate was my blood.
I thought I had beheld it from the flood.

207. 1815-1829.

(Captain):
"Newman is made of different clay;
He walks in his own quiet way;
And yet beneath that sober mien
Gleams of a spirit may be seen,
Which shows what temper lies suppress
Within his meek and unambitious breast:
He seemeth surely one of gentle seed,
Whose sirs for many an age were wont to lead
In courts and councils, and in camp to bleed."

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206. John Keats. On Seeing A Lock of Milton's Hair. The Ptl. Wks. (Buxton). 2: 249-251.

207. Robert Southey (1774-1843). Oliver Newman: A New England Tale.

Randolph replied, "He rules his tongue too well
Ever of those from whom he sprung to tell:
Whatever rank they once possessed
In camps and councils, is, I ween, suppress'd
In prudent silence. Little love that pair
Could to the royal Martyr bear,
Be sure, who named their offspring Oliver.
You have mark'd that volume, over which he seems
To pour and meditate, like one who dreams,
Pondering upon the page with thought intense,
That nought, which passes round him, can from thence
His fix'd attention move:
He carries it about his person still,
Nor lays it from him for a moment's time.
At my request, one day, with no good will,
He lent it me: what, think ye, did it prove?
A rigmarole of verses without rhyme,
About the apple, and the cause of sin,
By the blind old traitor Milton! and within,
Upon the cover, he had written thus,
As if some saintly relic it had been,
Which the fond owner gloried in possessing:
'Given me by my most venerable friend,
The author, with his blessing!'"

208. With other emotion
1821. Milton's severer shade I saw, and in in reverence humbled
Gazed on that soul sublime: of passion now as of blindness
Heal'd, and no longer here to Kings and to Hierarchs hostile,
He was assoiled from taint of the fatal fruit: and in Eden
Not again to be lost, consorted and equal with Angels.

209. Most musical of mourners, weep again!
1821. Lament anew, Urania! -- He died,
Who was the Sire of an immortal strain,
Blind, old, and lonely, when his country's pride,
The priest, the slave, and the liberticide,
Trampled and mocked with a loathed rite
Of lust and blood; he went unterrified,
Into the gulph of death, but his clear sprite
Yet reigns o'er earth; the third among the sons of light.

210. Spenser shed over me his sunny dreams;
Chaucer far more enchanted me; the force
Of Milton was for boyhood to austere,
Yet often did I steal a glance at Eve.

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208. Robert Southey. A Visions of Judgment.
209. Percy B. Shelley (1792-1822). Adonais, Stanza iv.
210. Walter Savage Landor (1775-1864). From The Last Fruit of an Old Tree. XXXVII. Wks. and Life. 1876- . 8: 220.

211. And Milton in the streets no Taller
Than sparkling easy-ambling Waller.
Waller now walks with rhyming crowds;
While Milton sits above the clouds,
Above the stars, his fixt above,
And points to men their way to God.

212. With frowning brow o'er pontif-kings elate
Stood Dante, great the man, the poet great.
Milton in might and majesty surpast
The triple world, and far his shade was cast.
On earth he sang amid the Angelic host,
And Paradise to him was never lost.

Two mighty men stand forth
Above the flight of Ages, two alone;
One crying out
All nations spoke thro' me.
The other:
True; and thro' this trumpet burst
God's word; the fall of Angels, and the doom
First of immortal, then of Mortal, Man,
Glory! be Glory! not to me, to God.

After reading this incomplete array of poetic compliment, one feels that Milton needs no further canonizing.

Into the Heaven of Heavens (he has) presumed,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air.

Beyond his own supplicating hope, his "fit audience, though few" has gradually multiplied into a nation of admirers, nay more, of poetic worshipers --- for Milton has been virtually deified. If he has not been the quickening force of every song in the Eighteenth Century, he has at least influenced almost every singer of this period. Urania reigns supreme among the Muses, and exacts a tribute from all to whom she grants the voice of song.

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211. W.S.Landor.. Additional Poems, cxiv. Wks. and Life, 1876. 8: 341.

212. W.S.Landor. Add'l Poems, xlii; The Last Fruit, lv. This last is on Shakespeare and Miltom. He has other beautiful tributes. Cf. Collection of 1846, cxl., and cclxxxviii, To Wordsworth. The Last Fruit off an Old Tree, ix., To The Nightingale; xxi., Ode To Sicily. Dry Sticks, vii., Old-Fashioned Verse. The Works and Life, 1876. pp. 326, 232, 74, 137, 202, 208, 282.

This tribute must be paid, whether the song be serious and sublime, or trivial in the extreme. The grateful nation breathed a pure Miltonic air; and almost every poet felt himself impelled to analyze and express this all-pervading influence. The chords of feeling that are touched in these tributes range through the whole scale of human emotion. There is everything here, from political rancor to the tenderest personal sympathies, from the jocose in tone to the exaltation of Heaven itself. But the volume of these voises harmoniously proclaim the universal and persistent power of Milton over the life and thought of the English people during the period under consideration.

Nor can any one fail to feel how nearly unanimous these tributes are in pointing directly to Paradise Lost. Every phase of Miltonic interest finds an echo in these poetical re-actions. Almost every piece of Milton's writings finds a recognition, general at least, if not specific and particular. But the whole sum of this recognition is comparatively small. Measured by the emphasis upon Paradise Lost, the other writings of Milton seem almost neglected. Even the large element of sympathetic biographical allusion refers almost exclusively to that portion of Milton's life which is inseparably connected with his Major Poems. In a word, these tributes point mainly to the Major Poems as the object of national interest and the source of national influence, emphasizing those distinguishing qualities of Milton's Epics that have placed them in the highest rank of the world's great masterpieces.

Chapter IV. The Biographical Treatment of Milton.

Biography is the record and interpretation of facts through which a personality has worked itself out into what is called Life. The writing of biography implies the answering of two questions. What are the facts? and, what do they mean? Thus the biographer enables the world to see what he conceives to have been the things essential in the personality that he has treated. But the biographer himself is not a perfectly transparent medium for facts, nor, as a rule, an unbiased judge of their meaning. To see Milton through the medium of Biography, in the period under discussion, it is necessary, therefore, to take some notice of the biographers who write, of the facts they emphasize, and of the meaning they impose.

After the Restoration Milton was delivered from the hands of vengeance by Davenant and other friends, and lived in obscurity, in London, until the great Fire of 1666 drove him from the city. He was hated by the court and Tories in general, but highly esteemed by his rather remarkable circle of friends. He devoted himself to regular habits, and industrious labours upon the great poem which appeared in 1667. Milton was always famous or infamous according to the temper of his judges; and, if Aubrey may be trusted, the aged poet was even wearied by the multitude of his visitors. But after all is said that is favorable to his condition, still Milton was poor, blind, in obscurity, and comparatively neglected, while the King and his court disgraced themselves and the nation in their revelries and sin. The contrast

was sharp; and the memories of these facts fell as a sore affliction upon the Milton loving England of a century later.

During these years, it was the enemies of Milton, and not his friends that spoke loud enough to be heard at the distance of two centuries. David Masson, in his exhaustive History of Milton and His Time (6: 636n), has summarized the biographical allusions to Milton before the publication of Paradise Lost. Those in Heath's Chronicle, (1663), South's Sermons, and Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams (written 1661-70, published 1692), all describe Milton in terms of virulent political hatred, and regret that he was not hanged. Two other allusions are cited as more respectful. One of them is from Hobbes, whom Milton disliked for theological reasons but esteemed as a man of great parts. Hobbes, therefore, returned this feeling of Milton in that allusion of the Behemoth, which has more of respect than sympathy. The other allusion was by Samuel Butler, who was in sympathy neither with Milton, nor the immorality of the Restoration (Trib. 5).

Naturally, real biographical interest in Milton did not become active until after his death (1674). But almost immediately after that event, there was considerable interest in this direction . Among the first efforts of this kind were those of John Aubrey (1626-1697), who collected material for a formal Life of Milton. But this collection of Notes never got beyond a very amorphous outline stage. He gave a list of Milton's works, and add a note of praise upon the Panegyricks on Cromwell and Fairfax. Of Milton himself, Aubrey said, "Whatever he wrote against monarchie was out of no animosity to the king's person, or out of any faction or interest, but out of a pure zeale to the liberty of mankind,

which he thought would be greater under a free state than a monarchiall government."[1]

Aubrey was a friend of Milton, and the modern reader deeply regrets that this sketchy outline was never worked out into a full account of the great poet from first hand knowledge. The Life was not written, nor did the Notes get into print until long after that time. Instead, they were placed inthe Ashmolean Museum, whence the MS was taken by William Godwin, for his Lives of John and Edward Phillips (1809). The Notes were, however, promised(Jan., 1675) to Anthony A. Wood for his ATHENAE ET FASTI OXONIENSES. In May of that year, Aubrey also assured Wood that "Mr.Marvell has promised me to write minutes for you of Mr. John Milton." But these minutes seem never to have been written.[2]

The first Life Of Milton was written by a hand now unknown, and apparently incapable of being found out with any considerable degree of certainty. The MS was found by the Rev. Andrew Clark,L.L.D., in 1889, among the papers of Anthony A. Wood, in the Bodleian Library. Mr. E. S. Parsons, who has given an interesting discussion of this Life, together with the text itself, in the English Historical Review,[3] was not able to determine the author. He believed the MS to be in the author's own handwriting, which Mr. Parsons was unable to identify with that of any one of Milton's friends who might have been supposed to write such an account of the poet. If the MS was corrected, or transcribed by another hand than that of the author, Mr. Parsons believed that the Life was probably the work of Dr. Nathan Paget (1615-1679), the close personal friend and physician of Milton.[4] If this conjecture

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1. A. Clark. Aubrey's Brief Lives, 1669-1696. 2 vols. Oxford, 1898. "Milton." vol. II, pp.69-70.

be true, the Life was written within five years of the great poet's death(1674); and, in any case, it was written before 1691, for it was one of the obvious sources of Wood's Fasti in that year.

This earliest biographer of Milton wrote from a full heart of personal sympathy with the great politician and poet. The author's outlook upon life seems to have been from Milton's point of view, and the emphasis upon the moral and the religious side of the poet's life indicated intimate personal relations. The biographer even held it highly improbable that one of such exalted morality could easily err in matters of religious doctrine. The writer developed the setting of the several pieces of Milton's prose writings in a manner that was favorable to the great author. This Life gave no hint of the Minor Poems, an indication that the work was independent of, if not prior to, Aubrey's Notes, who mentions these poems as twice printed (i.e. 1645,1673). This friend of Milton did, however, mention, with some emphasis, Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes, and paused to affirm that the first and second of these "more especially taught all virtue."

But this friendly activity was rather exceptional in the field of early Milton biography. Milton's prominence in the Commonwealth, and his celebrity as a writer in defence of that movement, made him an object of especial detestation in the early days of the Restoration. It was then customary to try for court favour by vilifying the Puritans. Milton was therefore a man much written against for several decades after the Restoration.

The very atmosphere of the English court was one of political animosity. By none was this more deeply breathed than

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2. David Masson, Life of Milton. 6: 778. Br.Mus.Cat. "William Godwin."
3. Jan.,1902. 17: 95-110.

by William Winstanley (1[illegible]-1[illegible]). In 1687 he published his Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, a work in which he won for himself a notorious immortality, by venting his spleen against Milton, in the following passage, apparently designed by fate for easy quotation:

> "John Milton was one whose natural parts might deservedly give him a place amongst the principal of our English poets, having written two heroic poems and a tragedy, namely Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and [illegible], but his fame has gone out like a candle in a snuff, and his memory will always stink, which might have ever lived in honorable repute, had he not been a notorious traitor and most impiously and villainously bely'd that blessed martyr "Charles the First." 5

The Account of Milton, given by Anthony A. Wood (1[illegible]-1[illegible]), in his ATHENAE OXONIENSES OF FASTI, was little more sympathetic than that by Winstanley. Wood drew his facts largely from the anonymous Life and from Aubrey's Notes, and his spirit of virulence from the common animosity of Toryism. Wood's biographical sense of values seems to have obliged him to recognize Milton's greatness and potential goodness, but the Account showed no sympathy with the career of the great politician and poet. Wood felt that all of milton's exalted powers were either prostituted or misapplied.

In his Account of Edward Phillips, Wood styled milton "the defender of the murder of King Charles I." He was even more severe in saying that "John Phillips ealy imbib'd the rankest antimonarchical principles from that villainous leading incendiary John Milton his uncle." In the more formal account of

4. Dict. Natl. Biog. "Paget." Masson, Life of Milton, iv. 151.
5. This work of Winstanley was not unread in the eighteenth century. The British Museum copy (C.45.d.17) has MS notes by Bishop Percy. David Lloyd, Canon of St. Asaph, selected from it certain Lives for his State Worthies (1766).

the poet , Wood found Milton "at length arrived to that monstrous and unparalleled height of profligate impudence, as in print to justify the most execrable murder of him the best of kings, -------afterwards being made Latin Secreatary to the Parliament, we find him a commonwealth's man."

With Milton's poetry Wood seems to have had little concern. He did comment, somewhat indifferently, upon Milton's studious habits in college, and added that he "wrote then several poems." Beyond this comment, Wood mentioned the 1673 edition of the Minor Poems, and the Major Poems, only as so many historical facts.[6]

Naturally Gerard Langbaine (1656-1692), in his Account of the Dramatic Poets (1691), gave more attention to Comus and Samson Agonistes than to any other of Milton's poems. In his biographical sketch of the poet, however, Langbaine expressed the usual antipathy toward Milton the politician. The author mentioned by name several of the undramatic poems and prose pieces of Milton; but confessed that he knew little about the poems, and proved his ignorance most convincingly in his mis-statements of obvious facts. He regretted that Milton's principles were not as good as his parts: for then " he had been an Excellent Person; but his demerit towards his Sovereign has very much sullied his Reputation." This comment of Langbaine was changed, in a later edition of the Dramatic Poets(1699), edited by Charles Gildon, to read as follows: Milton was "an author of that excellence of genius and learning, that none of any age or nation, I think, has excel'd him."[7] This change was due largely to

6. Ath. Oxon. et Fasti. edited by Philip Bliss.4vols. London, 1820. "Edw.Phillips," (cont.)

the difference in literary temperament between Langbaine and Gildon, but it indicated a change of emphasis which began to assert itself during the last decade of the century. Milton the poet began to emerge above the confusion of political strife.

This distinction between Milton as politician and as poet was sharply drawn by Addison, in his poetical Account of Milton (1694, Trib, 21), and by Yalden, when Milton's Prose was published with his poems(1698, Trib.[illegible]). In the same year that Addison's Account appeared (1694), Sir Thomas Pope Blount (1649-1697) published his De Re Poetica, which. in many references, considered Milton mainly as apoet. The second Part, called Characters and Censures, devoted four pages to "John Milton, " basing the criticism almost entirely upon Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes, though Milton was allowed to have international fame from "his other(prose?) works, both Latin and English."

In this same year (1694) a new departure appeared in the biography of Milton. That was the publication of his Life with his Letters of State, edited by his nephew Edward Phillips (1630-1696?). This Life was intended to be a sort of introduction to the Letters,and naturally laid special emphasis upon the political side of Milton's career. Phillips printed in this Life four of the Sonnets, closely connected with Milton's political activities.- those To Cromwell, Fairfax, Vane, and To Skinner upon his Blindness. The biographer showed himself familiar with all the Minor Poems, but singled out Lycidas alone for special mention.

6.(cont.)4: 760-769. "Milton," 2: 480-486. These accounts were written about 1691-2. The Fasti was added to the Ath.Oxon., in the edition of 1721.

He devoted considerable attention to the common view, that Paradise Regained was "generally censured to be much inferior to the other," and was the authority for Milton's impatient fondness for this younger offspring of his Muse.[9] This Life was, of course, sympathetic, and became ever more valuable to later biographers of Milton.

The new plan of furnishing a biographical introduction to Milton's Works was followed by John Toland (1670-1722), who prepared a new Life of Milton for his edition of the Prose Works (1698). This Life was printed separately the next year, at which time Amyntor; or, A Defence of Milton's Life also appeared from the same pen. The necessity for this latter work, Toland regarded with a measure of surprise. "When I undertook," he said, "To write the Life of the most celebrated Milton, I was far from imagining that I should ever be obliged to make an apology in justification of such a work, both harmless in itself, and greatly desired by the world."[10]

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7. An Acct. of the Eng. Dra. Poets. Oxford, 1691. pp. 375-377. There seems to have been an edition of this work in 1696. It was reissued, and brought down to date in 1699, by Gildon (B.M.Cat.), who is accredited with the addition of 182 pages. The work was republished by Mayhew, 1751.
8. De Re Poetica (1694). Pp. 135-138.
9. Life of Milton (1694). p. xxxix.
10. Amyntor, ed. 1761. p. 156. The occasion which called forth this Defence, was a mixture of malice, politics, and religion. In the Life Toland had argued that Gauden, and not Charles I, was the author of Icon Basilike, and had said that, as men were mistaken about this, so they might be mistaken about the authenticity of some of the early Christian writings. Toland denied any allusion to the New Testament Canon. But the Church regarded this suggestion as a deistical challenge; and an obscure rector, Offspring Blackall (1654-1716), offered acceptance. The controversy brought Blackall into notice, won for him the Boyle Lectureship at St. Paul's (1700), and paved his way to the bishopric and archdeaconry of Exeter (D. N. B.). (cont.)

Toland was a liberal in philosophical and religious thought, and a liberal in politics. His treatment of Milton partook of the same general spirit. Naturally, he was sympathetic with some of Milton's radical views in his Prose Works, which Toland seems to have edited, as he thought, in the interest of Truth and progress. He exalted Paradise Lost, and showed some just appreciation of the other poems. Like most of the other biographers, Toland selected Lycidas and Comus for special comment. Lycidas he regarded "one of the finest Milton ever wrote."(p. 132). He held that Milton made good his early ambition "in his inimitable poem of Paradise Lost, and before this time in his Comus, like which piece in the peculiar disposition of the story, the sweetness of the numbers, the justness of the expression, and the moral it teaches , there is nothing extant in any language" (p.56). Otherwise, however, he treated the Minor Poems only as a group of juvenile performances.[11] Toland's observation above was, perhaps, the first biographical indication of the

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10 (con.) In Amyntor, Part III, Toland gave the history of Icon Basilike, in proof of the Gauden's authorship. This argument provoked three rejoinders in the same year(1699). (1) A Defence of the Vindication of King Charles I, in Answer to a late pamphlet intituled Amyntor; (2) Remarks on the Life of Mr. Milton, as Published by J. T. With a Character of the Author and his Party. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament (Post Boy, Jan.3-5, 1699; - and (3) Some Reflections on that Part of a Book called Amyntor....which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Testament. Most of the virulence of these writings was, however, more against Toland, than against Milton. In 1738, Thomas Birch set forth both sides of the original question of the Gauden authorship, and left it for impartial judges to decide the question upon its merits. Complete Prose Works of Milton (1738). Vol.I, pp. lxiv - xcvii.

genius of Paradise Lost in the earlier poetry.

It may have been that the labours of Phillips and Toland inspired, or at least aroused, the historian Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) to write the following passages in his A History of My Own Time. The work was written soon after the year 1700, but was not published until after the author's death. The first volume appeared in 1723, and was well received; but the second volume (1734) was not so much applauded. Burnet seems to have had little sympathy with the Commonwealth movement, and yet felt himself constrained to admire the genius of Milton as revealed in Paradise Lost. Few writers, at any time, have mirrored more faithfully the national feeling respecting Milton, than this single paragraph has done at the opening of the eighteenth century. There one may see the deepest hatred of Milton as a politician, which was still powerful among the royalists. There is also an evident interest in the traditions of Milton's somewhat mysterious personal history after the Restoration. There is further a sort of irresistible national pride which, in spite of all political prejudices, has crept in, with its leavening power, to season his praise of him who had honoured the nation in the excellence of Paradise Lost.

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11. This Life of Milton, together with Amyntor, was republished by Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), in 1761. Hollis was an enthusiastic student of Milton, and believed him to be the greatest champion of liberty. This same year he bought the bed on which Milton died, and presented it (June 12, 1761) to Akenside, requesting him to celebrate Milton as "the assertor of British liberty" in an Ode. Akenside accepted the gift, and is said to have died in this bed, but he never wrote the Ode. The ardor of Hollis was, however, in no wise abated. When his edition of Toland's Life &c came out, he sent copies of

(Cont.)

censure, to the scandal of all people.------Milton had appeared so boldly, though with much wit, great gravity, and elegancy of his Latin style, against Salmasius and others, upon that argument, and had discovered so virulent a malice against the late king and all the family, and against monarchy, that it was a strange omission if he was forgot, and an odd strain of clemency if it was intended he should be forgotten; but he was not excepted out of the act of indemnity. And afterwards he came out of his concealment, and lived many years, much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, though he was then blind; chiefly that of Paradise Lost, in which there is a nobleness both of contrivance and execution, that, though he affected to write in blank verse without rithm, and made many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the beautifulest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at least in our language." 12

While the qotation from Burnet reveals the national feeling for Milton, the following statement from A Complete History of Europe (1705) indicates the feeling for Milton as a character of international interest and importance. "There is hardly anything," said the historian, "that can make this year (1674) more remarkable than the death of John Milton ...---He has left us an inimitable poem in his blank verse, called Paradise Lost."[13] Bishop White Kennet. D. D. (1660-1728), who utilized Milton's History (1670) in his own Complete History of England (1706), naturally assumed a favourable attitude toward Milton whenever there was

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11.(cont.)it with "Milton's Prose Works as presents to many private persons, both at home and abroad, and to a considerable number of public libraries in foreign countries." (Cr. Rev. Sept., 1731. 52;161-175.)

12. A History of My own Time. ed. Oxford, 1897. 6 vols. Vol. I. pp. 283-284. Cf. I, pp. xxvii, xxxi. This work seems to have appeared in French (1735).

13. Quoted by Mr. Havens.

opportunity.[14]

eyes of the early eighteenth century would be complete without some mention of Thomas Ellwood (1659-1713), whose History of himself by his own hand, was published(1714). Ellwood was a Quaker, who had received a favorable introduction to Milton, and became a pupil, friend, and assistent to the great poet in his blindness. Ellwood, in his direct Quaker fashion, tells a delightful story of his reading to the poet, learning from the great master the Latin Language, helping him to escape to Chalfont St. Giles from the plague in London, of his own freedom and personal intimacy with the poet and in his home, and, with much pride, of his own suggestion that led to the writing of Paradise Regained. Every one reads this well-told story with a sense of regret that the few pages are not greatly multiplied.[15]

The next two biographical treatments of Milton, both short and unimportant, were by Giles Jacob (1686-1744), and appeared in The Poetical Register (vol.I, 1719, and II, 1720).[16] Both accounts were sympathetic.

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14. Bishop White Kennet. D.D.(1660-1728). A Complete History of England, with the Lives of all the Kings and Queens thereof. From the Earliest Times to the Death of William III. 1706. 3 vols. Fol. The 2nd. ed. enlarged and corrected. 3 vols. Fol. 1719. The Notes are by J(ohn) S(trype).

The first volume was devoted to "The English Dramatic Poets," and the second to "Our Most Considerable English Poets." The first account is a very brief sketch, which mentioned Comus and Samson, dating the latter 1688, and commenting on Milton's imitation of the Greek models. The writer said, that "this author has made himself Immortal by his Poem called Paradise Lost," and quoted Dryden's Epigram (Trib. 16) as "finely drawn." The second account was longer. The author drew his facts largely from Wood, quoted fifty-four lines of Paradise Lost (III) on Milton's blindness,[17] and took his critical estimates from Dryden, and (without acknowledgments) from The Athenian Mercury.[18]

Among the most popular accounts of Milton ever written was the brief Life of Milton, by Elijah Fenton (1683-1730), written hurriedly in the summer of 1725, published with Paradise Lost in that year, and revised into its permanent form early in 1726.[19] The secret of this

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15. The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, by his own Hand. ed. C. G. Crump. Putnam's, N.Y., 1900. pp. 38ff., 144-145. An Extract on these Relations with John Milton, is given in An Eng. Garner, Crit. Essays and Lit. Fragments, by J. C. Collins. Vol. 7, 137-140.
The biographical part of this History stopped at 1683, from which point it was continued to Ellwood's death, by J(oseph) W(yeth). There was a 2nd.ed in 1714, 3rd. 1765, 4th. 1791, 5th. 1825, 6th. 1855.
16. The Poetical Register. Vol. I(1719), 183-4; II(1720), 100-6.
17. Appendix B.
18. The Ath. Mercury. Jan. 16, 1691. Chap. v, Note 17 above.

popularity was stated by Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Fenton. "To this edition(1725)," said the Doctor, "(Fenton) prefixed a short and elegant account of Milton's Life, written at once with tenderness and integrity."[20]

Fenton was rather conservative, than radical, in matters of religion and politics. He could not approve the political career of Milton, but prudently praised what he could in the man, and drew the veil of oblivion over what he could not praise. Fenton wondered, as did Newton later, that Milton's "daring" spirit had not led him into the ranks of the army; but supposed the restraint to have come from respect to parental authority(xi). The author seems to have defined the political side of his feelings in the following sentences:

> "Far be it from me to defend his engaging with a Party combin'd in the destruction of our Church and Monarchy. Yet, leaving the justification of a mis-guided sincerity to be debated in the Schools, may I presume to observe in his favor, that his zeal, distempered and furious as it was, does not appear to have been inspirited by self-interested views." Fenton felt that "a full protection from the Government... was in truth more than He could have reasonably hop'd"(xvii).

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19. Letter of Fenton to Broome, Jan. 13, (1726). Pope's Works (Elwin & C.), viii, p. 112.
The Life appeared with P. L. as follows (Chap.II, sect. 1):

28. 1725.	36. 1739.	55. 1753.	95. 1776.
29. 1727.	37. 1741.	58. 1754.	96. 1777.
30. 1727.	41. 1746.	69. 1761.	103. 1785.
31. 1730.	49. 1751.	73. 1765.	106. 1788.
32. 1731.	50. 1751.	74. 1765.	109. 1790.
35. 1738.	51. 1752.	92. 1775.	116. 1795.
122. 1795.			
French.1729.			
" 1753.			

In the nineteenth century, Fenton's Life appeared in 1802, 1804, 1806, 1808, 1812, 1813, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1820, 1821, 1830?, 1833, 1855.

(cont.)

Fenton had, however, a boundless admiration for Milton the poet, whom he loved and studied assiduously. Fenton was the first biographer to devote a formal section of the Life of Milton to a critical discussion of his poetry. "We come now," said Fenton in the introduction of this section, "to take a survey of him in that point of view, in which He will be look'd on by all succeeding ages with equal delight, and admiration,"(xviii). He mentioned Comus, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Lycidas as sufficient, "Though He had left no other monuments of his Genius," to render Milton's "name .... immortal." Fenton devoted some attention to Milton's early purpose to write a heroic poem, and then turned his pen directly to the praise of Paradise Lost.

> In the year 1667 he published his Paradise Lost; the noblest Poem, next to those of Homer and Virgil, that ever the wit of man produced in any age or nation. Need I mention any other evidence of its inestimable worth, than that the finest Geniuses who have succeeded him have ever esteemed it a merit to relish, and illustrate, its beauties ? whilst the Critic who gazed, with so much wanton malice, on the nakedness of Shakespear when he slept, after having formally declared war against it, wanted courage to make his attack:.....Nor is it unworthy our observation, that though, perhaps, no One of our English Poets hath excited so many admirers to imitate his Manner, yet I think never any was known to aspire to emulation: even the late ingenious Mr. Philips, who, in the colors of style came the nearest of all the Copiers to resemble the great Original, made his distant advances with a filial reverence; and restrained his ambition within the same bounds which Lucretius prescib'd to his own imitations ((xix-xx)).

19.(cont.) (Brit. Mus. Cat. "Fenton"). Ed.1727 used in this work.

20. Life of Fenton. (Hill). II, 261.

Fenton devoted about seven pages, or one fourth of the entire Life, to Paradise Lost. He observed some of the biographical elements in the Epic, dwelt upon the difficulties of Milton in having "This Divine Poem licens'd for the Press," and spoke with a sense of national shame of the "Fifteen Pounds" received for the original copy(xx-xxi). He allowed that Milton had faults, even poetical faults, as was evident in the "falling-off" in Paradise Regained. But "not to have had some faults, and misfortunes, to be laid in the balance with the fame, and felicity of Writing Paradise Lost, wou'd have been too great a portion for humanity" (xxv).

Soon after the popular Life by Fenton, biographical and historical accounts of Milton began to multiply very rapidly. This multiplication went hand in hand with the widening interest in Milton, sometimes as cause, sometimes as effect. Paradise Lost was defended and explained, as will appear in Chapter VI below. The Minor poems were brought into prominence, and the Prose Writings began to be made popular. These growing interests, because of the occasional character of most of Milton's writings, demanded larger acquaintance with him, and, in turn, stimulated a popular thirst to know more of the great poet-politician. Moreover, his embodiment of a great historical movement which appeared to many at this time to furnish hope against national despondency, stimulated interest in the poet's career. It was, on the whole, a time when the deepening influence of Milton was turning the nation toward himself. He was, therefore, a man who was, in a double sense of the word, much "written-up"

during this period that followed 1730.

Most of these accounts of Milton were favorable, if not aggresively sympathetic.[21] Those who could not sanction all his political and religious views were restrained by the exalted influence of Paradise Lost, from doing violence to the author of that divine poem. Points of praise were sought out and emphasized, unpleasant matters were either omitted altogether, or dispassionately narrated, and offensive results were studiously avoided. These principles of narration, all appear in the following notices of Milton, taken from The History of the Puritans (1733), by Daniel Neal (1678-1743), who seems to have tempered his narration to suit the spirit of his immediate audience:

> "The books of the great Milton, and Mr. John Goodwin, published in defence of the sentence of death passed upon his late majesty, were called in by proclamation. And upon the 27th of August, Milton's Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Salmasium, and his answer to a book entitled, The Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings, were burned by the hands of the common hangman; together with Mr. John Goodwin's book, entitled, The Obstructors of Justice; but the authors absconded till the storm was over. It was a surprise to all that they had escaped prosecution. None but Goodwin and Peters had magnified the king's execution in their sermons; but Goodwin's being a strenuous Arminian procured him friends, Milton had appeared so boldly, though with much wit, and so great purity and elegance of style, upon the argument of the king's death, that it was thought a strange omission not to except him out of the Act of Indemnity; but he lived many years after, though blind, to acquire

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21. Bishop Samuel Parker, in The History of His Own Time, in Four Books, Trans. from the Latin by Thos. Newlin. London, 1727, devoted a section to "Marvell," claiming that, "by the interest of Milton, to whom he was somewhat agreable from his ill-natured wit, he was made Under- secretary to Cromwell's Secretary."

immortal renown by his celebrated poem of Paradise Lost."

"This year(1674) put an end to the life of that great man, John Milton, born in London, and educated in Christ College, Cambridge, where he discovered an uncommon genius, which was very much improved by his travels. He was Latin Secretary to the Long Parliament, and wrote in defence of the murder of King Charles I., against Salmasius and others, with great spirit, and in a pure and elegant [illegible] Latin style. He was afterwards secretary to the Protector Cromwell, and lost the sight of both his eyes by hard study. At the Restoration some of his books were burned, and himself in danger; but he was happily included in the Act of Indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement. He was a man of an unequalled genius, and acquired immortal fame by his incomparable poem of Paradise Lost; in which he manifested such a sublimity of thought and such elegance of diction, as perhaps were never exceeded in any age or nation of the world. His daughters read to him, after he was blind, the Greek poets, though they understood not the language. He died in mean circumstances, at Bunhill Row, in the sixty seventh year of his age." 22

The next year after Neal's cautious account, the public was favored with the longest and most sympathetic Life of Milton, hitherto published. This Life was the work of Jonathan Richardson, who published it in the Explanatory Notes on ..... Paradise Lost (1734), to which his son contributed much in the way of classical learning.[23] The elder Richardson was an artist, and a man of rather keen literary interests. He had had a long and extensive experience with public life, and had treasured up many valuable literary anecdotes and traditions of the Restoration period. His own life had extended almost back to the Commonwealth, and thus subtended a large and important arc of English history. In this Life of Milton Richardson

22. History of the Puritans. Vol.I, 1732; II, 1733; III, 1736; IV, 1738. 5 vols, edited by Dr. Joshua Toulmin, 1797. II, 219-20, 280

brought together a wealth of reminiscent materials of great interest and permanent value.

The first thing in the book is a full page portrait of Milton, in his later life, with a crown of laurel upon his head. Richardson had "given a little more vigor to the Print" (ii), and placed the crown upon Milton's head because all men allowed it to the great poet. The general import of this Life was adequately stated in biographer's opening sentences:

> "If I can give a more Exact, and a more Just Idea of Milton, and Paradise Lost than the Public has yet had of Either, I am assured it will be Acceptable to all Honest and Ingenious Minds of What Party Soever. This is All I Intend; not a Panegyrick, not to give my Own Sense of What a Man should be, but what this Man Really was. Not to Plead for the Poet, or the Poem, but for Truth, by giving Light into what hath Hitherto lain in Obscurity, and by Dispelling Mistakes which have Injur'd the Memory of a Deserving Man, Debas'd a Work Worthy of the Highest Estimation, and Robb'd the World of the Pleasure and Advantage it Might have Receiv'd, and I presume to Hope Will Hereafter Receive. This is My Aim in the Present Undertaking." (On the next page, he says,) "the Print Prefix'd shows the Face of him Who Wrote Paradise Lost, the Face We chiefly desire to be acquainted with."

The last idea above was what gave direction to the author's biographical efforts. Plainly from the first he was interested primarily in the truth of him who wrote Paradise Lost. In keeping with this particular interest, the author recognized the Minor Poems of Milton mainly as evolutionary facts in the development of his mind for his supreme work. This development was represented, as it were, from within the mind itself. Through liberal

citations from his poetry and prose, Milton was able to reveal the growing fulness and ripening purpose of his own mind, as it steadily approached the full magnitude of genius in Paradise Lost.

The political tone of the Life was greatly subdued, and in all the incidental matters there was a splendid sympathy with the great poet. Especially was this sympathy evident in matters relating to Milton after the Restoration. The whole account closed with an Apostrophe that rounded out the biographer's original design:

> "O Milton, thou hast employ'd all thy Vast Treasure of Wit, Learning and Ability, all the Beauty, Energy, and Propriety of Words Our Language was capable of, all the Sweetness and Harmony of Numbers thy Musical and Judicious Ear furnished thee with, all the Fire and Beauty and Sublimity of Imagination Peculiar to thyself, Added to what could be supplied by those who have most excelled in that Angelical Faculty, in Whatever Ages or Languages, All the Firmness, Force, and Dignity of Mind thy Vertue and Piety Excited in thee, or Rewarded thee with; and together with All These a Genius Perfectly Poetical, if Ever Man's was, and That Regulated by a most Solid Judgment. All these thou has Consecrated to Produce a Poem, more Instrumental than Other Human Composition, to Calm and Purify the Mind, and through the Delightful Regions of Poetry, to Exalt and Fix it to the Mysteries, Sublimities, and Practice of Religion; to a State of Tranquility and Happiness, the Utmost Morality is Capable of."

The next biographer of Milton was the Rev. Thomas Birch (1705-1766). He was an ardent Whig, and

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22. Explanatory Notes on Milton's Paradise Lost. By Jonathan Richardson, Father (1665-1747) and Son (1696-1771). With a Life of the Author, John Milton. London, 1734. 2nd. ed., 1735. Life pp. i-clxiii.

under the influence of that party, rose rapidly in church and political recognition. He was made secretary of the Royal Society, and figured among men of letters, as a historian and an advocate of liberty. In 1738, he edited The Complete Prose Works of Milton, in two folio volumes, with An Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. John Milton.[24]

This Account was sympathetic with most of Milton's views; and being an introduction to the Prose Works, naturally gave considerable attention to the circumstances of Milton's middle Life. But the balance was not lost between this and other periods of Milton's career, and the total impressions is that of an unusual interest in Milton the poet, and especially in him as the author of Paradise Lost.

On the political side of Milton's Life, Birch seems to have cited with approval Milton's own justification of his early attitude toward the Established Church(vi). Birch regarded an abuse of Milton, even as early as 1704-6, "a Reproach only to the Person who is rash enough to pass it."[25] While observing the facts with fidelity, Birch still

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24. The Account of Milton occupied pp. i-lxiii, with an Appendix, pp. xiv-xcvii, in Vol. I of the Prose Works 1738, and was reprinted with the second edition of the Works, 1753.

But the biographical interest of Birch in Milton was not limited to the one Life. In 1743, the first volume of a work, in large folio, entitled, The Heads of Illustrious Persons of Great Britain, with their Lives and Characters, was published in London. Vol. II appeared in 1747-52; a new edition, in 1756 (Mo. Rev. 7;255-277); another, in 1813. This elaborate work was under the direction of Birch, who prepared the "Lives." Milton appeared as No. 54, in Vol.I, with a full page portrait, and a two-page compactly written Life. But the account was no distinguishing features.

More important was Birch's relations to the

succeeded in representing the Prose Works, in a manner that tended to secure for most of the pieces a more candid consideration from the reading public. Such evidently was the biographer's intentions, who followed Toland in the initial impulses of this Life, and allied Milton with the cause of liberty.

Birch gave considerable attention to Comus and Lycidas. He had access to the Original MSS of these poems, then in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and printed them for the curious, "as it will be extremely agreeable to see the first Thoughts and subsequent and Corrections of so great a Poet as Milton." (vii-xvi). Birch approved Richardson's emphasis upon the originality in Comus, and Warburton's comparison of the descriptive excellencies with the scenes of Eden (xiv).

The biographer cited a long letter from Henry Wotton to Milton; but Birch seems to have felt the Minor Poems,

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24 (continued)

Account of Milton given by Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), in his Dictionaire Historique et Critique (cinquieme edition, Tome III, 393-399, 1740). This work was published in 1695-97, and enlarged in 1702. It was, in 1734-1741, translated into English and edited, with corrections and comments, by Thomas Birch, assisted by John Peter Barnard (d.1750), John Lockman (1698-1771), and other hands. The work contained an Account of Milton, with a Supplement (vol. vii, 1738, 567-575-588). The Original Account, by Bayle, was very unsympathetic, and needed much supplementing and correction. This additional work was attributed to Birch (B.M.C.). It was certainly under his oversight. But it was signed "T", and has some internal evidence of having been written by another hand. Birch's attitude toward the original work of Bayle may be seen in the next note below.

a group, sufficiently praised in the following preface of Humphrey Moseley the Stationer, to the Reader(ed.1645):

"It is not any private respect of gain, gentle Reader, for the slightest pamphlet is now adays more vendible than the works of the learnedest Men; but it is the Love I have to our own Language, that hath made me diligent to collect and set forth such peeces both in prose and vers, as may renew the wonted Honour and Esteem of our English tongue: and it's the worth of these both English and Latin Poems, not the flourish of any prefixed Encomions, that can invite thee to buy them, though these are not without the highest Commendations and Applause of the learnedest Academies both domestick and forreign; and amongst those of our own Country, the unparall'd Provost of Eaton, Sir Henry Wotton. I know not thy Palate how it relishes such Dainties, nor how harmonious thy Soul is; perhaps more trivial Airs may please thee better. But however thy Opinion is spent upon these, that Incouragement I have already received from the most ingenious Men in their clear and courteous Entertainment of Mr. Waller's late choice Peeces, hath once more made me adventure unto the World, presenting it with these ever-green, and not to be blasted Laurels. The Author's more peculiar Excellency in these Studies was too well known to conceal his Papers, or to keep me from attempting to sollicit them from him. Let the Event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve of the Age by bringing into the light as true a Birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spenser wrote, whose Poems, in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excel'ed. Reader, if thou art eagle-eied to censure their Worth, I am not fearful to expose them to thy exactest perusal."

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25. "Milton has been very injuriously treated by the anonymous Author of Remarques Critiques sur la nouvelle Edition du Dictionnaire Historique de Moreri donné en 1704, in the second Edition of the Book published by Mons. Bayle at Amsterdam 1706. For this Writer represents him, not only as a Man absolutely without the least Religion, but likewise as a wretched Poet, and worse Orator. But such a [illegible] Judgment is a Reproach only to the Person, who is rash enough to pass it." Birch, Life of Milton, p.lxiii.

Birch dwelt with a feeling of [illegible] upon the merits of Paradise Lost, as the climax in the career of a great productive genius. Step by step he traced the development of that genius towards its final expression. That development was really the standpoint from which he viewed the early MSS of Comus and Lycidas. He emphasized Milton's early ambitions to write a great work, and observed the prophecy of that future greatness, in the Italian Ode by Antonio Francini (Trib.4), and by others(xvii). He indicated the persistent interest of Milton in King Arthur, as stated in Mansus(xviii), and in the Epitaphium Damonis, where the epic purpose had become evident(xix). He cited Milton's elaborate statement of his lofty purpose in The Reason of Church Government(1641); and later gave the manuscript outlines of the proposed Tragedy on the Fall of Man(xx-xxi)and xxxix-xlix).

The biographer, after stating the usual traditions about the writing and publication of Paradise Lost, laid new emphasis upon the early reputation of the poem, and subsequent Miltonic interests. "This poem of our author," said Birch, "has met with an approbation, which will continue as long as a true taste for Poetry shall remain among mankind." This double statement of fact and prophecy was supported by five folio pages of criticism, extracted from those whose praises showed a rising tide of esteem, at home and abroad, for the matchless Paradise Lost.[26]

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26. Life of Milton, (xlix—lv). He cited Edw. Phillips, Dryden, Addison, Atterbury (To Pope, Nov. 8, 1717), Gildon, Voltaire, Lettres Critiques à Mr. le Comte sur le Paradis Perdu & Reconquis. (continued).

While these multiplied labours were engaging the energies of Birch, the Rev. Francis Peck (1692-1743) produced New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton (1740).[27] This copiously filled volume, as might be expected from its varied contents, gave a fairly just account of Milton and his poetical works. Larger and more proportions of attention were bestowed upon the several poems than in any previous Life of the Poet. The work is note-worthy for three special points of interest. The first is the strong defence of Milton's ability in rhyme, against the strictures of Dryden upon the Juvenille Poems. The second is that Peck was among the first to illustrate the writings of Shakespeare and Milton "by extracts from contemporary writers, in accordance with the model subsequently followed by Steevens and Malone." The third is the [illegible] analysis of the poems Lycidas, Comus, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and the Nativity Ode, in a manner not unlike that employed later by Dr. Johnson, in his celebrated treatment of Milton.

In 1747, Martha Whincop, widow of the late Thomas Whincop(d.1731), the author of Scanderbeg; or, Love and Liberty, A Tragedy, edited that work, and added a "List of

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26.(cont.) (Paris, 1731), Richardson, and Warburton (Div.Legation).

27. This volume contained, besides the Memoirs, (1) An Examination of Milton's Style; (2) Explanatory & Critical Notes on divers Passages in Milton and Shakespeare, by the Author; (3) Baptistes: A Sacred and Dramatic Poem, in defence of Liberty, as written in Latin by Mr. George Buchanan, and translated into English by Mr. John Milton, (4) The Parallel, or Archbishop Laud and Cardinal Wolsey Compared -- a Vision by Milton; (5) The Legend of Sir [illegible] Throckmorton, Kn., who died of poison 1570; (6) Herod the Great, by the Editor; (7) The Resurrection.

(cont.)

Dramatic authors, and all Dramatic Pieces, to 1747." This list, though in her hand, was probably compiled, if not written, by the dramatist and compiler, John Bottley (1700-1750).[29] It has a portrait of Milton, immediately under which, the sketch opens with the statement: "This Gentleman has rendered his name immortal by his Poem, called Paradise Lost, the finest Piece in the English Language." After some statements about Milton's political controversies, his inter-national reputation, and his blindness, the writer added the prosaic statement, that "He wrote two dramatic pieces," which are merely named.

The most considerable editor of Milton's poetry during the eighteenth century, was the Rev. Thomas Newton, D. D. (1704-1782), who published his Variorum edition of Paradise Lost, May 20, 1749. As an introduction to this edition, Newton compiled a new Life of Milton. The author began this Life with the statement, that most of his materials had come from the labours of the earlier biographers. But these materials were generally stated in a fresh manner, and often supplemented by valuable information from other sources. But it is possible to refer clauses, and even whole sentences, to the different preceding Lives. Newton was a careful writer, condoning where he could not conscientiously praise the course

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27.(cont.)a poem in Imitation of Milton, by a Friend; and (3) A Discourse on the Harmony of the Spheres, by Milton, with Preface and Notes. In the same year(1741), Cook also published Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell.

28. Thos. Seccombe. D.N.B., "Bot."

29. Dict. Natl. Biog. Both writers.

upon the hostile re-action of Dr. Johnson against Milton in the Life of 1779.

Newton's Life of Milton was very popular, having been usually included in the numerous editions of his variorum edition of Paradise Lost.[30] In view of this editorial work, no elaborate criticism of the poems was to be expected in the introductory Life of the Poet. Newton did not agree with Milton's political and religious views, as appears from the following statement; but his conservative estimate of Milton in this connection was a tribute to his character and influence. After exalting Milton's genius and learning, the biographer continued:

> But his great parts and learning have scarcely gained more admirers, than his political principles have raised him enemies. And yet the darling passion of his soul was the love of liberty; this was his constant aim and end, however he might be mistaken in the means. He was indeed very zealous in what was called the good old cause, and with his spirit and resolution it is somewhat wonderful, that he never ventured his person in the civil war, but tho' he was not in arms, he was not unactive, and thought, I suppose, that he could be of more service to the cause by his pen than by his sword. He was a thorough republican, and in this he thought like a Greek or Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings.(xlv).[31]

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30. Newton's Life appeared as follows (Chronol., sect.I):
45. 1749. 70. 1750. 90. 1770. 91. 1770.
97. 1752. 97. 1753. 1. 1770. 99. 1770.
2. 1753. 34. 1755. 12. 1773. 107. 1776.
51. 1757. 71. 1763. 17. 1775. 115. 1778.
66. 1760. 79. 1767. 30. 1775. Italian 1774.

31. The Poetical Works. John Exshaw, Dublin, 1777. Vol. I.

in matters of religion too he has given a great offense to many who differ from him in political principles. But still let not the infidel glory: no such man was ever of that party. He had the advantage of a pious education, and ever expressed the profoundest reverence of the Deity in his words and actions, was both a Christian and a Protestant, and studied and admired the Holy Scriptures above all other books whatsoever; and in all his writings he plainly showed a religious turn of mind, as well in verse as in prose, as well in his works of an earlier date, as in those of later composition.(xlvi).

Newton regarded the Areopagitica as "perhaps the best vindication, that has been published at any time or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press."(xvi). He commented favorably upon the recent adaptations of some of the poems by Handel, and praised the Minor Poems, in the words of Fenton, as sufficient to render Milton's name immortal (xvii). He devoted something like five pages to Paradise Lost, describing it as "generally esteemed the noblest and most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the ancients, the honor of this country, and the very envy and admiration of all others."(xxxvii).

Newton laid some new emphasis upon the Miltonic interests up to the time of his own writing. But the matters indicated are now obvious to all students of the period, and his work is of small value in this field. He also emphasized the interests of Milton's Family, an emphasis closely connected with the mid-century interest in Milton's grand-daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Foster. In this field of study, Newton was, as a rule, more definite and correct, than his predecessors had been. But even here he suffered one correction at the hands

of the notorious William Lauder.[32]

With these multiplied biographical materials at command, Theophilus Cibber (1703-1758) had no occasion for difficulty in compiling his account of Milton, for The Lives of the Poets(1753). Such a work would hardly be expected to present any strongly original features; but this account has the interest of a very strong nationalistic spirit in the following praise of Paradise Lost:

> **"The British Nation, which has produced the greatest men in every profession, before the appearance of Milton could not enter into any competition with antiquity, with regard to the sublime excellence of poetry---- (The) ancients had still a poet in reserve superior to the rest, who stood unrivalled by all succeeding times, and in Epic poetry, which is justly esteemed the highest effort of genius, Homer had no rival. When Milton appeared, the pride of Greece was humbled, the competition became more equal, and since Paradise Lost is ours; it would, perhaps, be an injury to our national fame to yield the palm to any state, whether ancient or modern."** [33]

The national pride in Milton was, at the mid-century, almost boundless. His genius as a poet was the wonder of the Ages. His genius as a political writer was asserting itself against all prejudices. His profound conceptions of liberty were taking fast hold of men. His own integrity, his unselfish service even to the limit of extreme sacrifice, his high place in public life, his exalted conceptions of personal and national liberty, and his genius in poetry, rendered the thought of Milton inseparable from the history, progress, and destiny of English political and literary life. David Hume, who felt little sympathy with the Puritan movement, in his History of England (1756), recognized Milton's inherent greatness, destined to shine in the heaven of merit, when prejudice had once cleared away. Hume's estimation is as follows:

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32. P.S. to An Essay on Milton's Imitation of the Moderns. L.,1749.

33. This Account may have been only a step removed from Dr.Johnson. Most of these Lives were complide by Robert Shield (d.1753), who was then working on Johnson's Dictionary.

It is, however, remarkable, that the greatest genius be far that shone out in England during this period, was deeply engaged with those fanatics, and even prostituted his pen in theological controversy, in factious disputes, and in justifying the most violent measures of the party. This was John Milton, whose poems are admirable, though liable to some objections; his prose writings disagreeable, though not altogether defective in genius. Nor are all his poems equal: his Paradise Lost, his Comus, and a few others, shine out amidst some flat and insipid compositions. Even in the Paradise Lost, his capital performance, there are very long passages, amounting to near a third of the work, almost wholly destitute of harmony and elegance, nay, of all vigor of imagination. This natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increased by the inequalities in his subject; of which some parts are of themselves the most lofty that can enter into human conception; others would have required the most labored elegance of composition to support them. It is certain that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble object, is the most wonderfully sublime of any poet in any language, Homer, and Lucretius, and Tasso not excepted. More concise than Homer, more simple than Tasso, more nervous than Lucretius, had he lived in a later age, and learned to polish some rudeness in his verses; had he enjoyed better fortune, and possessed leisure to watch the returns of genius in himself; he had attained the pinnacle of perfection, and bornes away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known that Milton never enjoyed in his lifetime the reputation which he desreved. His Paradise Lost was long neglected: prejudices against an apologist for the regicides, and against a work not wholly purged from the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, first brought it into request; and Tonson, in his dedication of a smaller edition, speaks of it as a work just beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he seems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in translating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expression are amusing to posterity, who consider how obscure Whitlocke himself, though lord-keeper and ambassador, and indeed a man of great ability and merit, has become in comparison with Milton.

It is not strange that Milton received no encouragement after the restoration: it is more to be admired that he escaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was so honorable in the king, and advantageous to posterity. It is said that he had saved Davenant's life during the protectorship; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the restoration; being sensible that men of letters ought always to regard their sympathy of taste as a more powerful band of union, than any difference of party or opinion as a source of animosity. It was during a state of poverty, blindness, disgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton composed his wonderful poem, which not only surpassed all the performances of his contemporaries, but all the compositions which had flowed from his pen during the vigor of his age and the height of his prosperity. This circumstance is not the least remarkable of all those which attend that great genius. He died in 1674, aged sixty-six.[34]

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34. David Hume (1711-1776). History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar, to the Abdication of James II, 1688. N.Y. Harpers, 1850. vol. v. 529-530.

This estimate of Milton was not, however, entirely satisfactory to the Milton-enthusiasts of the eighteenth century. The Critical Review seems to have taken most delight in voicing the opposition . Hume was "the professed panegyrist of the Stewart family," and the Review discredited his ability to see the Revolution from the standpoint of sincerity on the part of Milton and Cromwell.[35] The Review had"a better opinion of Milton," than that given by Hume; and felt a special relish in the Observations on Mr. Hume's History of England, by J. Towers. This author claimed that Hume even studiously endeavoured to diminish the reputation of the most celebrated English geniuses. He charged Hume with bestowing praise, and then, "with great dexterity, to throw out such insinuations, (and) so (to) magnify defects, real or imaginary, as almost wholly to overturn what he had said " in favour of his character under discussion . Milton was considered to be so treated in this passage of Hume's History.[37] But with inconsistency permissible only in a Review, this great oracle of praise and abuse, showed itself capable of greater severity against Milton, than Hume had ever felt, as will appear in the following narrowed bitterness:

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35. Cr. Rev. Feb, 1783. 55: 155n.
36. Cr. Rev. Dec., 1753. 2: 405-424.
37. Cr. Rev. April, 1778. 45: 289-292.

> "Every body knows with what acrimony and rancour Milton wrote against the character of Charles, and in defense of the most infamous of all mankind; and how industrious he was in picking up, and hardy in affirming for truth, every low insinuation which malice could invent, or prejudice believe. Those are stains in the moral character of Milton, which all the splendour of his intellectual merit will never brighten. It is the peculiar misfortune of the Stuart family, that two of the greatest geniuses, which the island has produced, happened interested in the cause of their enemies. These were Buchanan and Milton, two men, not more celebrated for their talents, than remarkable for the bitterness and asperity of their resentment. Buchanan assisted the bastard Murray in traducing and betraying his sovereign and benefactress. Milton insulted the ashes of his murdered king with calumny and reproach; and, with all his professed attachment to the natural rights of mankind, acted as secretary to the usurper and tyrant Cromwell, who destroyed the liberties, and trampled upon the constitution, of his country."[38]

The occasion of this bitterness against Milton was the publication of An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of Charles I, King of Great Britain(1758), by William Harris (1700-1770), which was then under review. Harris considered "Milton a name at all times to be mentioned with honor," but felt that he had misrepresented Charles I as being lewd. The Monthly Review thought, however, that "it is no slight presumption of the unworthiness of the Stuart family, that Milton and Buchanan, the two greatest Geniuses of their ages, were their most violent enemies."[39]

The way in which Harris supported the cause of Miltonic interests was not so much in the matter of small encomiums, as in the larger conceptions of his work. He represented the school of historical and political thought that was opposed to that supported by Hume, the defender of the interests of the Stuart Kings. Harris had planned a series of Histories on James I (pub. 1753), Charles I.(1758), Oliver Cromwell (1762), Charles II (1766), and . . .

James II.(unwritten because of illness). The obvious purpose of the author was to compass the whole movement of national politics, from the rise of Puritanism under James I, to the triumph of the Whig Party in the Revolution of 1688.

Little of this treatment was sympathetic with the royalty of that troublous period. Harris belonged to the group of influential writers, considered below in Chapter VI, who were insisting upon the merits of Milton's political views as a means of national reform and progress. Harris was himself a nonconformist tradesman. Hollis and Birch were his personal friends. They secured for him the"D.D." from the University of Glasgow, and rehdered him valuable service in his Histories. His historical method was that of M.. Bayle, who drew "from original writings and State-Papers." This plan was adopted, according to the Critical Review in the reference already cited, in the case of Charles I, for the purpose of ~~vilyf~~ vilifying that unfortunate sovereign. The total effect of Harris's labours was the development of a semi-radical atmosphere, a consecutive account of that eventful period, favourable to the advancement of the Miltonic influences.[40]

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38. Cr. Rev. April, 1753. 5: 320-321.
39. Mo. Rev. May, 1753. 13: 452-461.
40. Harris's Histories were popular. All of them were reprinted in 1772, and his works were collected in 1814.

Another historian who did much, in the same general way, for the cause of Milton's political influence was Miss Catherine Macaulay, later Mrs. Graham, who wrote a History of England from the accession of the Stuarts, that was, in general as little sympathetic as those by Harris. She had a passion for liberty, which was begotten and nourished by the ancient sources of political wisdom that inspired the mind of the great Milton. In the introduction to the first volume of her History (1763), she said:

> "From my early youth, I have read with delight those histories, that exhibit liberty in its most exalted state, the annals of the Roman and Greek republics..... Liberty became the object of a secondary worship in my delighted imagination."

Under this inspiration, she became a recognized champion of liberty. Like Carlyle, and most other dreamers of better things in the political world, Miss Macaulay used the selective method in the [illegible], utilizing historical materials very largely to illustrate and enforce her own convictions. The field chosen for the work now considered furnished large scope for such selection, and she entered upon the work with characteristic enthusiasm. One can feel a conscious antipathy to the work of Hume, when she says that she writes "to do justice to the memory of our illustrious ancestors, still having an eye to public liberty." She spoke of "party" as "that hell of liberty," and stood firm for the limitation of royal power. "Whosoever attempts," she affirmed, "to remove the limitations necessary to render monarchy consistent with liberty, are rebels in the worst sense; rebels to the laws of their country, the law of nature,

the law of Reason, and the law of God." The hated Cromwell, as a usurping tyrant, but honored Milton, as one of the greatest champions of liberty, and fondly dreamed upon his devotions and sacrifices in that greatest of causes.[41]

In 1777 John Bell (1745-1831) considered Milton "too well known to need a Life" in the British Theatre.[43] But the customary way of subduing the harsher elements of Milton's public and private life, together with overmuch praise of him as the champion of English liberty, had led Dr. Johnson to feel that a good solid Tory Life of Milton was much in demand. Johnson seems to have felt very early the powerful bearings of Milton's influence upon public life and was never wholly sympathetic. On the contrary, in 1749, he joined hands, to the regret of all his admirers, with Lauder's attack upon "The blind worshipers" of that emminent poet.[44] Since that time, the growth of democracy, liberalism in religion, and the Romantic tendencies in literature, had exasperated the Doctor against the adoration of Milton. He perceived that Milton's influence was central to the new and powerful "movement." He therefore threw himself across the current of that movement, in an unsympathetic Life of Milton (1779), which appealed to almost every possible source of prejudice

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41. For her feeling towared Milton, see Appendix C. Her influence for liberty must have been considerable, if one may judge from contemporary interests in her views. Gr. Rev. 1763. 16:721-330; and April, 1790. 69: 386. Mo. Rev. Nov., 1763. 29: 372-382. May, 1769. 40: 355.

43. British Theatre, ed. 1779. I, iv-v.

44. Chapter vi, p. 221.

against that post-politician.

> This biography breathed the spirit of the bitterest animosityes of Toryism. It was considered an outrageous abuse of the beloved Milton. But it is today the best known of all the many Lives of that Poet written during the eighteenth century. 45

Johnson showed himself familiar with all that had been said of Milton; and the Life moves with a stately flow of ideas, indicative of mastery. The biographer succeeded also in martialing his materials directly upon the desired goal of his effort to write Milton down. With an air of candourr and fidelity, Johnson said the meanest things possible, in the meanest manner possible, and left unused no chance for suggestions and insinuations that reflected upon the character of Milton. Evidently his intention, in this Life, was to contradict, as far as possible, every accepted estimation of Milton.

He denied to Milton any serious concern in liberty for others than himself.[46] Referring to Milton's spirit of controversy, the biographer said, "Such is his malignity ... 'that hell grows darker at his frown.'"[47]

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45. This Life of Milton was published, in the eighteenth century-

1779. Lives (Eng. Poets).	1795. Lives. 4 vols.
1781. Lives. 4 vols.	1796. Wks. 12 vols.
1787. " "	1796. Life. (Irish).
1787. Wks (Hawkins).	1797. Abridged.
1790. Life (Eng. Poets).	1800. Lives. 4 vols.
1790. Lives. 6 vols.	1801. " 3 vols.
1790-1. " 4 vols.	1801. Wks.

In the nineteenth century- 1804-6, 1806, 1810, 1816, 1818. 1819, 1825, 1826, 1840, 1847, 1854, 1854, 1858, 1864-5, 1868, 1878, 1886, 1888, 1905.

46. Lives of the Poets: Milton (1779). (ed. G.B.Hill). Vol.1. (paragraphs 36 and 170).
47. (50).
48. (72).
49. (165-167).
50. (168-169).

Johnson considered Milton as a slave to Cromwell, "to servitude and his flatteries(sold) to a tyrant."[48] He regarded Milton's theology as mainly negative, played heavily upon the dangers of being "of nor church," and severely assailed Milton's religious life.[49] "His political notions were those of an acrimonious and surly republican." "Milton's republicanism was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatness, and a sullen desire of independence."[50] In the worst possible light, the author represented Milton the politician and man of affairs.

In treating Milton the poet, Johnson studied no less to be contrary to accepted opinion. He did allow a measure of qualified praise to Paradise Lost, which he would not have written otherwise than in blank verse. Comus was considered the best of the early poems, but a dramatic failure for want of probability. He admitted a general pleasure in reading the Companion Poems, and allowed them to be "two noble efforts of the imagination." But beyond these notes of praise, he found little to commend.

He denied to Milton the rank usually attributed to him. He denied that the Minor Poems furnish any promise of the future Paradise Lost, though he had felt this forecast in the Prose writings. While granting to them the evidence of genius, in "that they have a cast original and unborrowed," he denied that their peculiarity was excellence: "if they differ from verses of others, they differ for the worse; for they are too often distinguished for repulsive harshness." He denied to the whole group of Minor Poems any independent vitality, and thought their

popularity has to [illegible] reputation and influence of the Minor Poems. He even carried his contradictions to the extreme of selection Lycidas, which most other biographers had specially praised, as the special object of his bitterest condemnation.

Even Johnson himself must have been surprised at the results of this biographical and critical venture. His madness, so full of Tory method, served only to bring the wrath of the English people upon his own head. Under this general re-action may be summarized what remains that was distinctive in the biographical interests of the century.

Four years after Johnson's abuse of Milton, Dr. Robert Anderson (1750-1830) published the fifth volume of The Works of the British Poets, which contains the Poetical Works of Milton, with an introductory Life, by the editor. The Life was written in a spirit of sympathy with Milton. Dr. Anderson displayed both a keen sense of poetical values, and a just sense of historical facts. The work was justly praised by contemporary criticism,[51] and was doubtless felt to be a defence of Milton from the aspersions of Dr, Johnson.[52]

The defence of Milton was very seriously undertaken, in a constructive manner, by William Hayley(1745-1820), in his Life of Milton, written for the great Cowper-Hayley Edition of Milton's Poetical Works, [illegible] printed by Boydell and Nichol, in 1794. The work was justly popular, both for its intrinsic merits, and its excellent justification of Milton from the strictures and abuses of Dr. Johnson.[53] The place that this Life occupied in the thought of the time, may very well

be seen in the following notice of the work in the Critical Review:

> Though the memory of few authors has received the due homage of more biographical tributes than that of Milton, yet the public will probably think themselves obliged to the spirited undertakers of the present splendid edition of his poetical Works, for having engaged a writer so justly esteemed as Mr. Hayley, to compose a new Life of that 'immortal man,' who was the glory of his age and country.'
>
> "According to Mr. Hayley's own declaration, his chief purpose (is) to give such a delineation of Milton's life as might 'rather make him more beloved than more admired;' and to exhibit him as no less a model of superior virtue' than as an example of unrivalled genius.
>
> "After all, is it necessary that the serious, the learned, the lofty, the sublime Milton, the severe disciplinarian, the zealous champion, -- in fine, the writer of Paradise Lost, should be the most amiable of mankind?" Milton was held to be "adorned with every graceful endowment, highly and holily accomplished." 54

John Bell prefixed an out-line sketch of Milton's life to Samson Agonistes, in the British Theatre (vol. 34, 1796). Three years later, the Rev. John Evans (1767-1827) published a sketch of the Life and Writings of John Milton, with an edition of Paradise Lost (1799). The period closed with the Life of Milton, more learned and comprehensive than any that had gone before, prepared by the Rev. Henry J. Todd, for his variorum edition of

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51. Cr. Rev. Jan. 1799. n.s. 2:40-50.
52. A Volume of Letters from Dr. Berkenhout to his Son at the University (1790), has short biographical Sketches of Bacon, Milton, Newton, and Locke, designed to show that, in spite of wasteful methods, still one may acquire much learning at Oxford and Cambridge. Cr. Rev. July, 1791. n.s. 2: [illegible].
53. The Life of Milton, by Hayley, was printed with The Poetical Works (1794); with the Conjectures on the Origin of Paradise Lost, London, 1796, Dublin 1797, Basil 1799; and with Adam: a Sacred Drama (1810).
54. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1795. 97(16):121-125. Cf.Mar.,1796. 100(19): 252-255. Cr. Rev. May, 1795. n.s. 14: 1-13.

Milton's Poetical Works (1801).

One scarcely feels like closing this account of Milton's "life" without citing the following passage from John Aikin's Letters on Taste for Poetry (1[illegible]), which shows that confidence was restored, and Milton triumphant:

> "It is not my purpose to go through an enumeration of the principal poets of different nations who have contributed to raise and purify the sentiments of mankind; but it would be unpardonable to pass in silence the first of the list, our immortal Milton. The unparallel sublimity which distinguishes his conceptions on all topics, so peculiarly marks his moral and religious ideas, that if it be possible for verse to operate as a charm against all that is mean, groveling, and corrupt in our nature, his are the strains from which this benefit might be expected. Of his Paradise Lost, Dr. Johnson testifies that "every line breathes sanctity of thought and purity of manners," and through his Comus and Samson Agonistes are not well calculated for dramatic effect on the stage, yet in the closet, the first, by its lofty morality, and the second by its preceptive wisdom, are capable of affording instruction and pleasure in a supreme degree. A relish for the works of Milton is not only a test of senibility to the more exquisite beauties of poetry; but a kind of measure of the exaltation of the mind in its moral and religious sentiments." 55

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55. Letters of a Father to His Son (1793-99). vol.II. Letter v. 263-70.

Aikin did not hesitate to expose Johnson's inconsistency in criticizing Milton and Watts. "It is properly observed by Dr. Johnson," said Aikin, "that Milton's excellence in these particulars was greatly owing to his familiar acquaintance with the Scriptures: and indeed the subject of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained are so entirely scriptural, that he could not fail of imbibing their spirit as he wrote. How extraordinary, then, does it appear, that the above mentioned critic, whose veneration for the Hebrew writing can scarcely be questioned, should express such an unqualified disapprobation of that alliance of poetry with devotion which is so peculiarly their characteristic."

Here he quoted Johnson's strictures on Watts' devotional poetry as "unsatisfactory." And pointed out the highly poetic and figurative character of the Old Testament Poetical Books.

These biographies, as a rule, show more marks of enthusiasm than of scholarship, the obvious tendency being to repeat the more prominent outlines of the poet's life, with a filling of details that was usually determined by the fancy of the biographer. The Lives were not without some evidence of research, and the total results of this kind were sufficient to make possible the exhaustive labours of Professor David Masson in the nineteenth century. The very personal element in these Lives was perhaps a better index to the Miltonic interests of the eighteenth century than more scholarly labours might have been.

These indexes into the minds and heart of the eighteenth century show a constantly growing sympathy with Milton. Old prejudices more and more passed away. Political animosities were gradually softened, except for party reasons among the Tories, on account of Milton's enormous influence. The man Milton emerged from political confusions and biographical obscurity. The Poet rose into full splendour, and finally Milton was well known.

The biographers of Milton tended at first to find the man in his prose writings, and Milton was therefore pre-eminently a politician and a controversalist. Later they found the man more especially in his verse. Then he was pre-eminently a poet, - the pride of England, and the envy of other nations. Finally his biographers found the full man in his prose and his poetry, a man with one great message, the champion of what he thought sublimely good for all nations and for all times. Then Milton was the poet-politician, who walked

on the earth, but [illegible] things in their eternal relations, and spoke, with authority, to Man, of Man, and for Man.

[illegible] biographers exalt Paradise Lost as the greatest achievement of his life . For almost half of the period under consideration, attention to the Minor Poems was largely directed toward their historical significance. They were mere facts in Milton's early life. Among the early poems, those that did receive a measure of special notice were Comus and Lycidas. This was always favorable, until Dr. Johnson made these particular poems the special object of his bitterness. But one is made to feel that Johnson's attack upon Milton was a sort of bitter farewell, which hurt the Doctor's reputation more than it did that of Milton.

On the side of mere historical facts, the Minor Poems tended to lose their distinction in view of the increasing volume of biographical content that was discovered in the Epics and Samson Agonistes . But this was compensated,in part at least, by the growing attempt to trace the poetical genius of Milton in those earlier stages of development. But his biographers came more and more to find the serious Milton, who was so much adored, in the sublime spiriteual unity of his whole message of virtue and liberty.

This message, flashing at times in the earlier poems, was worked out by Milton in the labours of the civil strife and glorified by his poetical genius in his later poetry.

The Minor Poems did come to have considerable interest for biographical criticism; but this rising interest must always be seen in its proper proportions. It should be remembered, that where biographers accord the praise of paragraphs and pages to the Minor Poems, they are at the same time writing whole commentaries on Paradise Lost and even on Paradise Regained. One may see this proportion formally worked out in the cases of Richardson, Peck, Newton, and Johnson. Such facts must be duly observed in arriving at any just estimate of the relative interests of the several poems for the biographers of Milton.

CHAPTER V. CRITICISM OF MILTON. TO 1730.

MILTON'S RANK ESTABLISHED.

The general title of Criticism is given to this, and the succeeding chapters under this running title, because that is the dominant element in this new survey of the period under review. The term is used, however, in its wider connotation, to include any form of individual or national expression that tends to define the values of Milton. The subtitle of this chapter indicates the main thing accomplished by such criticism up to about the year 1730. This was the time when most of the concern for Milton was expended upon the question of his place and rank among the men of letters.

During this earlier period the Minor Poetry of Milton scarcely formed a consideration in respect to his reputation. The Poems on Several Occasions were published in 1645, and again in 1673. Some of them were untilized by Robert Baron, in the Cyprian Academy (1649); and by Joshua Poole, in The English Parnassus (1657, 1677). They were known, and noticed to some extent in biography[1] and criticism; but they are conspicuous mainly for the want of attention they received during this period.

Humphrey Moseley, printer of the 1645 edition, recognized the unusual merit of these poems, and commended them very highly in his "Preface To The Reader."[2] Previous to this edition, Comus had been "viewed with singular delight," and praised, by Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), for a "certain Doric delicacy

1. See Chapter iv, on Biography.
2. Quoted with commendation, by Thos. Birch, in his Life of Milton (1738). Comp. Prose Wks. of Milton(1738). I, xxvi.

in the songs and odes," in a Letter To Milton, which the young Poet took pride in having printed in this first edition of his poems.[3] Lycidas had also been complimented, as it appeared to Warton,[4] in that it was placed last in the original volume "In Memory of Edward King." But by the time Milton's Poems appeared in 1645, England was too seriously concerned with other matters to give much attention to poetry.

After the Restoration, the poems were not generally re-discovered. Milton's friends knew and mentioned them; but the edition of 1673 created no perceptible stir even among Milton's admirers. About this time, or later, Waller, who found in Paradise Lost "some fancy and bold invention," but was "better pleased" with Lycidas, sent a copy of that poem to St.Evremond, who was then in England. St. Evremond read the poem with delight, and reported it "to be in the true spirit of pastoral poetry, the old Arcadian enthusiasm," and to be especially excellent in "the various and easy flow of its numbers... well adapted to the tender kind of imagery, tho' not expressive of the first strong impressions of grief."[5]

Late in the century (1693) Dryden called attention to these Juvenalia as a proof of Milton's inability to handle rhyme.[6]

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3. Milton had sent Wotton a copy of the Masque, and this Letter (April 13, 1638) was the old friend's re-action to the poem. L.P.Smith, Life and Letters of Wotton, I.220; II.381. Thomas Warton criticized this Letter as not reaching "to the higher poetry of Comus," which he defined as the "graver and more majestic tones, the solemnity and variety of its peculiar vein of original invention." Milton's Poems, ed. 1791. p.iv, and 118-122.
4. Warton's Milton, p. 38.
5. Letters of M. De St. Evremond (1610-1703) and Mr. Waller (1606-1687). London, 1710. Letters xxviii and xxix, pp. 98-107. See W.M.Daniels, St.Evremond en Engleterre, 1907.
6. Origin & Progress of Satire (1693). Essays (Ker). II. 29-30.

Congreve, in The Mourning Muse of Alexis,

> Sung at Comus' feast;
> While, in a ring, the jolly rural throng
> Have sat and smiled to hear my cheerful song. [7]

Toland exalted Comus and Lycidas, briefly but definitely, in his Life of Milton(1698); and Addison mentioned Comus, with favor, some years later. [8]

Addison cited also Milton's description of Laughter, in L'Allegro, as "finely" drawn; and a year later, in "sweet retirement," he "naturally fell into the repetition of some out of a poem of Milton's, which he entitled Il Penseroso, the ideas of which were exquisitely suited to (his) present wanderings of thought." [9] Langbaine dared to indicate Dryden's endebtedness to Samson Agonistes (1691), [10] and Charles Gildon found in it an excellent variety of numbers; [11] while Bishop Atterbury, a friend of Pope, but an admirer of Milton and blank verse, felt that Samson was written "in the very spirit of the Ancients," and was "capable of being improved, with little trouble, into a perfect model and standard of tragic poetry," and,, therefore, recommended Pope to "polish" the tragedy into this ideal form. [12]

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7. Wm.Congreve(1670-1729). Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 10: 269-271.
8. Poems by Allan Ramsay, 1731. II, 99. Gent.Mag. 8: 152.
9. Spec. 249, Dec.15,1711 (Allegro, 11-40); 425, July 8, 1712 (Penseroso, 61-72, 147-54). Warton's Milton, 1791. pp. ix-x.
10. Essay on Dryden (From the Eng. Dra. Poets). J. E. Spingarn, Crit. Essays of the 17th. Cent. III. 131. Half a century later it was felt, that Drayden had made too free use of Samson in the Aureng-Zebe. Lloyd's St.Jas.Mag. Oct.,1762. 1:149-152.
11. The Complete Art of Poetry, 1718. pp. 300-303.
12. Francis Atterbury. The Bishop of Rochester To Pope. The Wks. of Pope (Elwin-Courthope). IX, p. 49.

As early as 1691, a writer in The Athenian Mercury, attempted to decide the rank and relative merits of Milton and Waller. The former was pronounced "the fullest and loftiest;" the latter "the neatest and most correct Poet we ever had." This judgment of Milton was based mainly upon Paradise Lost, which was splendidly treated at some length. Samson was also exalted; "and, to say nothing of his Paradise regained, whereof he had only finished the most barren parts, in his Junvenile Poems, those on Mirth and Melancholy, an Elegy on his Friend that was drowned and especially a Fragment of the Passion, are incomparable." [13] Beyond this estimate, there was no advance until that of Elijah Fenton, in his Life of Milton(1725). Fenten had recommended Lycidas and the Companion Poems for Dryden's Miscellany (1716). These, with Comus, he declared in the Life, were sufficient to insure Milton's immortality.

The attitude toward Milton's Minor Poems was thus one of comparative indifference. That toward his Prose Writings was positively detrimental, as a rule, to any sort of savory reputation. This earlier period covers the life-time of two generations, neither of which were ever reconciled to Milton's politics. The first of these generations, somewhat maliciously prolonging the old controversies which had called forth most of Milton's Prose Works, read those works mainly for purposes of refutation. It was not enough that Milton's works should be burned;[14] they must also be answered. One may find, therefore, such publications as The Dignity of Kingship Asserted, in Reply to Milton's

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13. The Athenian Mercury(Jan.16,1691). Athenian Oracle(1702).1:477.
14. The Defence of the English People and Icon Basilike were burned in France (1651), and in England, by the common hangman, Aug. 13, 1660.

Commonwealth[15] (1660); and The Freeholders Grand Inquest (1679), with its reflections concerning the Original of Government upon Mr. Milton against Salmasius. The chief characteristic of these, and similar publications, was personal and political malice.

There were, of course, some who dared to be friends with Milton, even in relation to his Prose. Andrew Marvell, whose friendship found many forms of expression, feeling perhaps that there was little else to defend at that time, undertook a spirited defence of Milton's scholarship, in a Reply to Parker.[16] The change that came with the Revolution (1688) made it possible for Phillips to publish Milton's Letters of State (1694), a privilege denied to Aylmar in 1674. While Phillips had a conciliatory introduction, yet he ventured to prophesy the future historical value of these Letters. Four years later the daring and liberal pen of John Toland commended the political writings of Milton in the Life of that author (1698).

But the old attitude, as a rule, was dominant. The fathers with their feelings of personal animosity had passed away. But their children were still convinced that Milton had prostituted his great powers in those political and other controversial writings.[17] An important example of this indiscriminate condemnation was evident in the words of Aaron Hill, at the very end of this earlier period (1730). He declared that he would venture to pick out his friends and enemies by setting them to read Milton and Cowley. He

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15. By George Searle. For other such matters, see Clarendon's Letter to Gauden (March 13, 1666); and the Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury Concerning the Authorship of Icon Basilike. Todd, Life of Milton, p.21; Johnson's Life of Cowley (Hill), I. 56.

16. C.D.Cleveland. Compendium of Eng.Lit.,1869. p.286. Cf. Phillipps' Milton (1694), p. xxxviii.

17. Cf. Tributes 21, 23, 32.

would "be afraid of his heart, who, in the fame and popularity of Milton, could lose sight of his malice and wickedness;" and he would not fear to throw open his breast to one, "who, in contempt of the fashion we are fallen into, of decrying the works of Cowley, could have the courage to declare himself charmed, by both the Muse and the Man."[18]

All this political malice was a burden upon Milton's literary shoulders,-- a burden too heavy even for him, had there not been some source of strength yet unmentioned. His literary treasures had otherwise, probably, been buried out of sight, to adorn in time, of course, the labors of modern research and criticism. But the saving power was present, as was implied in the last quotation. That power which carried Milton aloft in spite of all opposition was Paradise Lost, the immortal repository of all that Milton stood for in poetry, scholarship, politics, and religion. That poem proved to be Milton in irresistible form, the power that brought triumph to its author and to all else that he wrote.

In 1667, Milton published "Paradise Lost, a Poem in Ten Books;" but the poem seems to have attracted at the first no special attention. The publisher had paid only a few pounds for the MS, and, perhaps, had felt for a time that the purchase was a bad bargain. The first edition was partitioned into as many as nine issues, it seems, and put on the market only as there was demand for the work.

While the poem was gradually coming to be more widely read and freely discussed, the reputation of the work was largely in the hands of Milton's personal friends. Thomas Ellwood(1639-1713),

18. Aaron Hill (1684-1750). To Mr. Richardson (June 1,1730). Rich. Corresp. I. 1-4.

a student and admirer of Milton, recorded half a century later that he had read this poem in the manuscript, and had made the suggestion which lad to the writing of Paradise Regained,[19] which appeared with Samson Agonistes in 1671. The year that Paradise Lost was published, Dryden is said to have declared that "This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too." Richardson recorded that others admired the poem while it was still wet from the press.[20] But the first printed praise was that of Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, who, in exalting "the sublimity of the subject...the majesty of the style...the beauty of its images and descriptions," represented himself as voicing the sentiments of others quite capable of critical judgment.[21] Among those just critics, one may reckon the names of John Aubrey, who collected notes for an early Life of Milton; of Dr. Paget, who may have written the earliest Life of Milton; and of Isaac Marvell, who, besides being interested in the biography of Milton, published, with Dr. Barrow, the exalting Commendatory Verses of the poem, in the edition of 1674.[22] Milton himself hads added the Arguments and the critical Preface on The Verse in 1668; and for this last authentic edition he revised certain parts of the poem, and redivided it into twelve books.

Soon after this time Milton seems to have been widely read, and echoes from Paradise Lost poured in from all sides. Besides the Tributes in another chapter, Thomas Otway, in his Epistle to Mr. Duke, about this time, alluded to the innocent garden-scenes in Eden.[23] The Vision of Purgatory (1680) placed Milton in that

19. Hist. of Thos.Ellwood,by his own Hand(C.G.Crump,1900). p.145.
20. These stories are told by Richardson, Life(1734), but some of them are discredited by Masson.
21. Edw.Phillips(1630-1696). Phrasium Poeticarum Thesarus. Quoted in the Lives of the Phillipses (Godwin). 1815, p. 145. In the

dismal region, to be sure;[24] but the English Theophrastus represented the aspiring wit as passing by Shakespeare, Jonson, and Dryden, to admire "the incomparable Milton," and "fondly endeavor to imitate his sublime." The transformations of Dryden's poems, by Elkanah Settle in 1682,[25] and by Matthew Prior in 1687,[26] both made use of Paradise Lost. The author of The Situation of Paradise Out(1683) cited "with taste and judgment several passages" from Paradise Lost (Bk.iv), and argued that Milton consulted the Fathers in this description of Eden.[27] Already in 1679, Samuel Woodford (1636-1700) had recognized the immortality inherent in this poem, which "shall live as long as there are men left in our English world to read it."[28] In 1680, the anonymous translator of Jacob Catsius' Self-Conflict placed Milton by the side of Cowley,[29] and eleven years later Milton stood on the exalted plain of excellence with the "perfect" Mr. Waller.[30]

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Theatrum Poetarum (1675), by Phillips, Milton also received due notice.

22. Chap.iv on Biography, and Tributes 7 and 8. Marvell was remembered for this early appreciation in 1720. See an Acct. of him, by Giles Jacob, An Hist. Acct of our most celebrated Eng. Poets(1720). II. p. 98. Also Atterbury To Pope (Nov.8,1717), quoted by Birch, Life of Milton (1738), I, p. 1.
23. Thos. Otway (1652-1685). Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 8: 295.
24. Edw. Dowden, Milton in the 18th.Century. Proc. Brit. Acad. 1907-8. pp. 276, and 279.
25. Absalom Senior; or, Achitophel Transposed(1682). pp. 2-3.
26. The Hind and the Panther, Transvers'd to the Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse. Aldine Ed. II, p. 332. Cf. also The Female Advocate(1687) for like familiarity.
27. Henry Hare (1636-1708). Todd's Life of Milton(1826), p. 200.
28. Preface to Paraphrase upon the Canticles (1679).
29. Todd's Life of Milton(1826), p. 199. This translator argued that the "gold" of the work should not "be rejected because not sung by a Cowley or a Milton."
30. See note 13 above.

Meantime English politics were taking a turn that was destined to affect the standing of Paradise Lost. The substantial spirit of the English people could endure only about so long the Frenchified Toryism of the Restoration. This period of endurance was greatly abridged by the element of national religion involved in the position of the restored King. The re-actionary forces gathered gradually under Charles II., and reached the point of Revolution when James II tried openly to foist the Roman Catholic Faith upon the English Nation. By this juncture of affairs the balance of power had swung around to the Whig Party, who had espoused the cause of Milton's reputation. One result of this movement was the massive folio edition of Paradise Lost in 1688, which, with its five hundred honorable names appended, amounted virtually to a national recognition.

But a still greater result was the changed attitude toward the whole question of Milton's exaltation. The Revolution brought William III to the throne, who did not care to persecute the Puritans. Indeed, the old fury of the early Restoration was beginning to be spent; and court favor could no longer be purchased, by abusing the party opposed to the King. Rapidly things had changed; and one might, after 1688, praise Milton with assurance of at least a semi-national sympathy respecting the exaltation of Paradise Lost. Men were then privileged to speak freely what many had felt, and some had already asserted respecting the rank of this great English Poet.

Obviously enough, however, the fixing of literary rank is the work of criticism, formal or cumulative. Even a Milton must pass through the fires before the pure gold is perfectly evident. For immediate popularity, Paradise Lost had the misfortune to fall

on evil days, to be born out of season. The critical standards of the Restoration had been imported bodily from the French Classicism of that time. These standards purported to make and judge all literature by the rules deduced, in the main by Horace, from the standard writings of the Ancients. Unavoidably, the tendency was toward formality, regularity, and rationalism in general. But Milton, in Paradise Lost, leaped the limitations of these intermediate rules, and found no small part of his inspiration immediately in the ancient Classics themselves. This fact was not realized at the time; not indeed is it quite certain that the standards of that time were sufficiently exalted to see and realize what Milton had done. The result was that Paradise Lost was first measured by the rules in vogue at the time of its publication.

Nor was this measurement very seriously undertaken, as a rule. More often the poem was condemned unheard, as lying without the rank of literature; and therefore deserving no rank at all. The attitude, inspired more or less by political bias, led the French Embassador, Comte de Cominges, to inform Louis XIV, that the only living author of reputation in England was "un nomme Miltonus, an infamous person, whose writings would not be to the taste of the king." [31] Perhaps little more literary was the feeling that prompted the classical Rymer (1678) to speak of "that Paradise Lost of Milton's which some are pleased to call a poem." [32] Certainly it was political bias that led Winstanley (1687) to deny to Milton any rank at all; and this feeling may have influenced Sir William Temple (1628-1699), who failed to mention Milton among the heroic

31. Leslie Stephen, Hobbes, p. 58.
32. Thomas Rymer(1639-1713), Tragedies of the Last Age (1678). J.E. Spingarn, Crit. Essays of the 17th. Century. II, 208.

poets of modern times.[33]

But rank Milton was destined to have, in spite of French Neo-classical rules. Among the first to recognize this fact was the poet John Dryden, the greatest genius of the French school. Dryden saw at once in Paradise Lost the unmistakeable evidence of a great poetic genius. But Dryden seems never to have been able to define critically the position that Paradise Lost should occupy in the ranks of literature.[34] Dryden attempted to regularize the poem by turning it into heroic couplets, and certainly must have felt the feebleness of his effort at improvement. Paradise Lost was not created according to the rules; nor indeed was it subject to them. This fact pressed itself upon Dryden's consciousness, though he was never just at ease as to what conclusion should follow.

In general, Dryden recognized Milton as a great genius; and did not hesitate to say so upon occasion.. "Dryden," according to one Eighteenth Century writer, "unfolded first the beauties and power of Milton, who raised England's glory to the top in respect of sublime poetry."[35] Very early Dryden cited "Homer, Virgil, Tasso, or Milton's Paradise," as authority for good epic usage, and spoke of Homer, Divine Virgil, and Milton" in the same manner.[36]

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33. The Works (1680). ed. J. Swift, 1720. I, p. 245. After Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, he knew "none of the moderns that have made any atchievement in Heroick Poetry worth recording."

34. Mr. Havens gave the following list of Dryden's principal discussions of Milton.(Englische Studien, 1909. 40: 193). He used the Scott-Saintsbury edition.
(1) State of Innocence and Fall of Man (1677). Preface. v. 111-112, 116-124. (2) Preface to the Second Miscellany(1685). xii. 300-301. (3) Dedication of the Aeneis (1697). xiv. 143-145, 201-2, 214-5. (4) Epigram(1688). xi. 162. (5) Origin & Progress of Satire(1693). xiii. 15, 17, 18, 30, 38, 39,115-8. (6) Preface to Fables (1700). xi. 209.

35. Edw.Watkinson, Nature & Tendency of Criticism. Cr.Rev.June, 1763. 16: 1-5.

36. Apology for Heroic Poetry(1677). Essays (Ker). I, 182,189-190.

He did not believe that Horace, "had he now lived, would have taxed Milton, as our false critics have presumed to do, for his choice of a supernatural argument."[37] Dryden found "flats" in Milton,[38] disapproved his blank verse,[39] censured certain aspects of his diction,[40] and even discredited the truly heroic character of his subject.[41] But above all this, Dryden applauded the majesty of Milton, admired "the heights of his invention, and the strength of his expression,"[42] pronounced "Spenser and Milton nearest, in English, to Virgil and Horace in Latin,"[43] and dared "not condemn so great a genius as Milton."[44] He said, "It is as much commendation as a man can bear, to own him excellent; all beyond it is idolatry."[45]

Such criticism of Paradise Lost could not but be effective in establishing the rank of Milton. The national re-action was one of confidence. Sir Thomas Pope Blount (1649-1697), in his Remarks upon Poetry(Charcaters and Censures) (1694), devoted a brief but formal section to "John Milton." In this the author summed up, with assurance, the situation of Milton, "whose natural Parts did deservedly give him a place amongst the principal of our English Poets." This dictum was based upon the two Epics and Samson.[46] Charles Leslie (1650-1722) felt obliged to discuss at some length Paradise Lost, in the Preface to his own History of Sin and Heresy

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37. Same, I, p. 1.
38. Origin...Satire. Essays (Ker). II, 29. Cf. II, 268.
39. Same, II, pp. 29-30.
40. Preface to Sylvia(1685). Essays (Ker). II, 268.
41. Origin... Satire.
42. Same as 40.
43. Dedication of Aeneis. Essays (Ker). II, 223.
44. Same, II, 212.
45. Same as 40.
46. Ed. 1694. pp. 135-8. Blount added, parenthetically, a reference to Milton's "other works, both in Latin and English, by which his fame is sufficiently known to all the Learned of Europe."

(1698), which deals in part with the same subject.[47] But no one was quicker to perceive the practical side of this growing confidence in Milton, than the printer Jacob Tonson. Accordingly, Tonson employed Patrick Hume to prepare an annotated edition of Paradise Lost to supply the new demand. This edition, with "copious and learned Notes, or Commentary by P.H., with a table of the most remarkable parts of the poem, under the heads of Descriptions, Similes, and Speeches," was published in 1695. This was the "first attempt to illustrate an English classic by copious and continued notes," and in this work Hume left a monument to himself as "the father of comparative criticism."[48]

By the last decade of the century the forces of general moral reform were beginning to be felt. This agitation affected literature, and served to exalt Paradise Lost as it had never been exalted up to that time. The leader of this movement for reform in literature, who most ardently espoused the cause of Milton, was John Dennis(1657-1734). Under him, and his associates in critical theory, Paradise Lost began to establish itself in relation to some of the literary problems of all time.

The need of this general reform was felt on all sides. The re-action from the restraints of Puritanism had sunk the nation to a low moral level. With this moral decay, Literature in general had declined. The stage in particular was very bad, even unindurable as it appeared to some of the writers on reform.[49]

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47. The History of Sin and Heresy, attempted from the First War that they Raised in Heaven, through their Various Successes and Progress upon Earth, to the Final Victory over them, and their eternal Condemnation in Hell. Theol.Wks(Oxf),1832. 7 vols. 7: 437-513.
48. Allibone,Dict. of Authors."Hume." Blackwood's Mag. 4:658-662.
49. The most considerable attack upon the stage was A Short View of the Immorality and Prophaneness of the Stage(1698), by Jeremy Collier (1650-1726).

Into the midst of this movement Dennis threw himself with full force. His well digested theory of literary reform was fundamentally at variance with most of the views that were then accepted. The very foundation of his poetic theory was the fundamental and inseparable union between poetry and religion. The pseudo-classical theory then in vogue claimed that literary excellence was attainable by rules. The general idea was to return to nature, as they of that school commonly argued. But by this maxim they meant nature methodized. The Ancients had followed nature at first hand, and had attained all that she had to contribute to literary excellence. From those ancient attainments the rules of excellence had been deduced. Now that these deductions were made and accepted as authority, the problems of literary reform lay in the direction of closer conformity to these rules. The problem was, therefore, almost purely a rational problem. Such was the thought of the day.

But Dennis thought otherwise. As it appeared to him, the inspiration and source of literature was ultimately in the passions. The problem of literary reform was, therefore, one of moral reform and religious exaltation. The confirmation of this theory he found satisfactorily set forth in the exalted character of Milton, and in his most exalted Paradise Lost. In both theory and practice, Dennis was an avowed disciple of Milton.

But this theory of Dennis led him, in his arguments for reform, to exalt Paradise Lost from another point of view. His theory of the union of poetry and religion, led him to exalt the Ancients above the moderns, because the former found their superior inspiration in the vital forces of their religion. But those ancient religions were Pagan, and therefore false. The greater attainment

Dennis believed possible to the poet who drew upon Christianity, which is Truth. As proof of what was possible in this better way, Dennis constantly held up Paradise Lost as a thing scarcely less than inspired from Heaven. From that exalted Source, Milton had attained a sublime excellence that was attainable in no other way.

The critical work of Dennis has been so well treated by Dr. H. G. Paul,[50] that extended discussion here would be superfluous. Strong sympathy with Milton, both in theory and practice, was inevitable. The discussions of Milton by Dennis would make a splendid volume, in quality as well as quantity; for the thought of Dennis toward Milton belongs more to the rising tides of Romanticism, than to the age of Pope and Swift. That age Dennis pronounced degenerate, and found the proof in the comparatively low appreciation of Paradise Lost. On the positive side of his criticism, there is one brief passage that seems to sum up his exalted attitude toward Milton.

> "He who is familiar with Homer, and intimate with Virgil .....requires something that is far above the Level of Modern authors, something that is great and wonderful. If I were to recommend a British Poet to one who had been habituated to Homer and Virgil, I would for the Honour of my country, and of my own Judgment advise him to read Milton; who every often equals both the Grecian and the Roman in their extraordinary Qualities, and sometimes surpasses them, is more lofty, more terrible, more vehement, more astonishing, and has more impetuous and more divine Raptures." [51]

One of the most considerable satellites of Dennis was Charles Gildon (1665-1724). He had by no means the grasp of theory that Dennis had; but at heart Gildon was scarcely less an

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50. John Dennis, His Life and Criticism. Columbia Dissertation. 1910.

51. Reflections Critical and Satirical, upon a Late Rhapsody, called, An Essay Upon Criticism. By Mr. Dennis. p. 17.

admirer of Milton. Like Dennis, Gildon cared little for rules, if only Paradise Lost yielded the fruits of literary enjoyment. Much of Gildon's best criticism was inspired by a desire to answer the objections made against Milton.

As early as 1694, Gildon defended even Milton's "antient and consequently less intelligible words," and his style in general, as essential to his characterization. He justified the "servile creeping" lines as fitting their content, exalted Milton's treatment of all the characters from the Deity to the Devil, and held the Paradise Lost a work for Milton alone, and for him only because of that inner illumination which came in consequence of his blindness. Gildon exalted the poem because of its pleasing effects upon the reader.[52] In his Complete Art of Poetry (1718), he claimed for Milton "no more than the second place" to Homer, and that England had no lack of national genius. He approved the spirit of Addison's Critique, and asserted that Milton "has equaled, if not excelled the Greek and Latin poets in many things."[53] In the second volume of this work, Gildon made fifty-nine quotations from Milton, representing almost as many pages, and all of them from the Epics. In The Laws of Poetry (1721), Gildon replied to Dryden's charge of "flats" in Milton. "Homer," Gildon said, "sometimes nods; Virgil has not everywhere the same vivacity and force; and.....Milton, for many lines together, is far from being so elevated and lofty.....But then all these three great poets shine out again in their own exalted lustre."[54]

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52. To Mr.T.S. In Vindication of Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost. Miscellaneous Letters and Essays(1694). 41-44. Spingarn, Crit. Essays in 17th.Cent. III. 198-200.
53. The Complete Art of Poetry. 1, pp. 108, 267-268, 269. ed. 1718.
54. The Laws of Poetry(1721). p. 21.

These last words of Gildon are much like those of Leonard Welsted, translator of Longinus on the Sublime(1712), who

Meantime it became necessary for the neo-classical school to define its feeling toward Paradise Lost, for the poem was no longer to be ignored. Dryden's attitude had been one of uncertain admiration. But the next generation of classicists seems to have understood that Dryden thought of Paradise Lost as a great work of an irregular genius; which, though admirable, could not attain first rank as literature. This certainly became the crystalized attitude of the pseudo-classical school after Dryden, in all that they said about Milton's great Epic. Great, it was admitted. But it was not a heroic poem. It was not really an epic poem. It did not conform to the accepted rules and standards. Its rank, therefore, could not be the highest. Paradise Lost was to be regarded as an irregular production, scarcely subject to the accepted laws of literature. This important qualification seems to have pervaded all pseudo-classical thought of Milton.

Milton was thus felt to be an irregular genius; but he was no less truly felt to be an uncommon genius. Moreover, Milton was an English genius; and even the classicists felt a national pride in this "great countryman, Milton." They, therefore, reveled frequently in the beauties of his isolated passages; they freely appropriated his thoughts and diction without acknowledgement; and they even discussed formally the measure of regularity to be found in his great poem.

To this general class belonged Sir Richard Steele(1672-1729), whose treatment of Milton seems never to have had adequate attention. Henry R. Montgomery, in his Memoirs of Steele, has this sentence. "In these casual notices and quotations, Steele was among the first to direct attention to Milton's merits, long prior to

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held it "undoubtedly true of Milton, that no man ever had a genius so happily formed for the sublime."

Addison's more elaborate critique."[55] During the years 1709 and 1710, Steele devoted at least twelve papers of the Tatler to Milton, all but one of which were concerned with Paradise Lost.[56]

In the very first of these (No.6), Steele compared Paradise Lost with Dryden's State of Innocence, much to the disparagement of the latter. Steele had an aptness for incidentally introducing a passage into such circumstances as would throw a flood of new light upon the passage thus introduced. He was charmed with what one may call the social element in Paradise Lost, and happily showed how that poem entered familiarly into social life. For example, he represented (40) an evening party of women saying that Milton had said some of"the tenderest things ever heard" in the love-speeches of Adam and Eve. On another occasion, he represented a fan on which was painted Milton's picture of "our first parents in Paradise asleep in each other's arms."(6). He had Paradise Lost (iv. 750-768) quoted at a wedding, and thought the passage especially fitted for such an occasion(79). In almost all of his liberal quotations, Steele showed a special fondness for those moments of pose in the poem that would make good portraits.

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55. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1865. II. 301.

56. Steele's Tatler Papers on Milton.

No.	Date	Para. Lost.	References.
6.	Apr.23,1709.		Aitken, Life,&c. I.55-56.
32	Jun.23,1709.	8:588-614	" I.263.
40	Jul.12,1709	5: 12- 13	Br. Essayist,1823. I,No.40.
50	Aug. 4,1709	8:507-509	
79	Oct.11,1709	4:750-768	Aitken, II. 216.
98	Nov.24,1709	(Comus,366-85)	" II. 233-234.
132	Feb.11,1710	2:112	" III.103.
149	Mar.23,1710	8: 39- 54	" III.188.
217	Aug.29,1710	9:1187-89	" IV. 114-118.
227	Sep.21,1710	4:358 ff.	" IV. 166.
237	Oct.14,1710	4:797-819	" IV. 210-215
263	Dec.14,1710	5: 1- 30	" IV. 340-341.

Every word of his treatment of Paradise Lost shows close study of the poem, careful visualization of its contents, and just appreciation of its literary values.

After 1710, however, Steele seems to have written nothing on Milton. The reason for this abrupt cessation is both evident and complimentary to the good judgment of his practical mind. During this year 1710, Addison had been contributing a few papers to the Tatler which showed a higher order of genius for this particular work than Steele had been able to command. Moved, therefore, first of all, perhaps, for the largest results in this field of public activity, Steele gave over into the hands of his greater contemporary and fellow-worker the privilege of representing Milton before the public.

So great has been the reputation of Addison's Critique on Paradise Lost, that it has come to stand, in general thought, for Addison's contribution to the criticism of Milton. But this thought is far from the truth. Had Addison never written his Critique, still he would hold an important place among the early critics who helped to give Milton his rightful rank in literature.

Addison's poetical tribute to Milton was published in 1694(No.21,p.), and showed some just appreciation of Milton's rank as a poet. Probably Addison's first formal contribution was the Discourse on Ancient and Modern Learning, which made a strong nationalistic appeal in behalf of Milton. The Discourse held that the circumstance of national heroes made Homer and Virgil particularly charming to their own countrymen. "And here by the way, our Milton has been more universally engaging in the choice of his Persons, than any other poet can possibly be. He has obliged all Mankind, and related the whole species to the two

chief Actors in his Poem." This higher interest of Paradise Lost Addison supported by discussing at length the world-relations of Milton's characters.[57]

In the Periodical Papers,[58] Addison rarely ever quoted Milton without an exalting compliment. If Addison contemplated the rewards of justice, his mind went at once to Milton's fine description of female virtue (~~100~~, 102). If Death-Bed Scenes(114) suggested the community element in pleasure as well as in sorrow, he found nothing "so inexpressibly charming" as Milton's representation of Eve "no further pleased with the beautiful objects around her, than as she sees them in company with Adam." The "variety of images in this passage" was to Addison "infinitely pleasing," a fact mentioned because Dryden had said, in his preface to Juvenal, that he could meet with no turn of words in Milton. But Addi-

57. This Discourse was written early, but printed late. Much of it worked over in other papers. Bohn ed.v.214. 8th.ed. Lond.,1739.

58. Addison's Periodical Papers on Milton.

Tatler Papers		Paradise Lost	References
102	Dec. 3,1709	8:546-559	
114	Dec.31,1709	6:639-656 2:557-561	Br.Essayists,1823. 3:No.114.
218	Aug.30,1710	9:446-451	
222	Sep. 9,1710	4:760-762	Aitken 4: 138.
?237	Oct.14,1710	4:797-819	Br.Es.,1823; 4:No. 237.
Spectator Papers			
12	Mar.14,1711	4:675-688	
89	Jun.12,1711	8:469-511	
160	Sep. 3,1711		
237	Dec. 1,1711	2:557-561	
249	Dec.15,1711	(Allegro,11-40)	
262	Dec.31,1711		Introduction to Critique.
	Jan.5-May 3		Critique.
393	May 31,1712	4:148-156	
	Jun.21-Jul.3		Pleasures of Imagination.
425	July 8,1712	(Penseroso)	Lines 61-72, 147-154.
463	Aug.21,1712	4:996-1015.	Br. Es.,1823. 10: No.463.
Guardian Papers			
103	July 9,1713	1:726-730	
138	Aug.19,1713	5:331-343	Br. Es.,1823. 15: No.138.
Freeholder No.32.		8:546-554	April 9,1716.

son was able to "show several passages in Milton that have as excellent turns of this nature as any of our English poets whatsoever." In proof of this, he cited Book II, 557-561, which he affirmed to have "a kind of labyrinth in the very words that describe" the fallen angels debating predestination.

Almost every turn of thought in Addison's mind seems to have found some illustartion in Paradise Lost; and he had the ability to make others feel this vital connection between Milton and all that was most wroth thinking about in life. While on a walk in the country, Addison "could not but reflect upon a beautiful simile of Milton(219)." In a quiet evening's diversion at home, this book was his choice of delights(237). He observed that the principle underlying ghost stories for children "Milton has finely described in this mixed communion of men and spirits in Paradise(12)." The melancholy aspects of eternal infelicity he found well portrayed by Milton's master hand(Spec.237). As for the delights of spring, none "have observed so well as Milton those secret overflowings of gladness which diffuse themselves through the mind of the beholder upon surveying the gay scenes of nature." In proof of this, Addison cited the passage where Milton "represents the devil himself as almost sensible to it(393)." The idea of weighing Wisdom and Riches assumed in Addison's mind the formal aspect of Milton's combat between the Arch-angel and the Evil Spirit. (463). City fireworks(103), as well as public courtesy(138), might be improved by attention to the excellencies of this wonderful book. Then, as if forgetting all thought connections, and being controlled by the idea of appreciation for its own sake, Addison would quote long irrelevant sections of Paradise Lost because he could not "forbear transcribing entire" such excellent materials (89).

On the side of formal criticism, Addison's estimation of Milton was judicious. In the paper On Great Natural Geniuses(160), Addison placed Milton in the class of geniuses who "have formed themselves by rules, and submitted the greatness of their natural talents to the corrections and restraints of art." To this class belong Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Tully, Milton, and Sir Francis Bacon. In the Essays on the Pleasures of the Imagination (paper vi), it was claimed that "Homer excelled in imagining what is great; Virgil in imagining what is beautiful; Ovid in imagining what is new. Our own countryman, Milton, is very perfect in all these respects." Milton was held to be excellent in description, whether he portray the pleasant or the unpleasant, and effective in imaginative appeal, even through such emblematic persons as Sin and Death. Such was the active interest with which Addison supported the rank of Milton before the English public in his own writings outside of the formal critique.

The celebrated Critique is, however, Addison's great contribution to the criticism of Milton. In the introduction to these Remarks, Addison made three things very clear: (1) That he did not need to write Milton into public favor; (2) That the works of Milton had been of constant interest to Addison; and (3) That these Papers were to deal with a definite esthetic discussion of the Poem, supplementary to the work already done in this particular field of Miltonic criticism. Addison assumed the classical standards in these Remarks, Drawing upon Aristotle, Horace, and Longinus, for the orthodox theory of poetry.[59] By these standards Addison measured the claims of Paradise Lost to classical recognition, discovered, in part, its beauties, excellencies, and defects, and

59. Elton says that Aristotle, seen through the Traité du Poème epique of Father René Bossu(1675), was the standard by which Dennis and Addison "inadvertently" measured "the conformity of Milton to a just poetic." The Augustan Age. pp. 143-4.

thus gave the Nation a full semester's work in the definite classical art of Milton. These Remarks were collected into a separate volumes in 1719, translated into French 1729, German 1740, Italian 1748, and became a standard work on Milton from their first appearance. The immense circulation of the Spectator in England,[60] literally flooded the Nation with the choicest passages of Milton, stamped with just valuation by the best classical authority of the times. For this sanction the public mind was fully ready, and the re-action was undoubtedly greater than is usually estimated. Tonson had just supplied the public with Paradise Lost in convenient form; and the loyal-hearted English heard Addison gladly, and then searched their Milton daily whether those things were so. The is little wonder that this re-action became to later historians and critics the touchstone of Milton's unparalleled popularity.[61]

There can be no doubt about the solid contribution which these Papers made to the clearly defined rank of Milton, as seen from the pseudo-classical standpoint. Addison did not discover Milton; but he did definitely set forth the nature of Milton's literary rank in terms of the dominant thought of the times. Henceforth Milton afforded, in spite of his irregularities, ample opportunity for a just national exaltation. The substantial re-action called not immediately for multiplied editions, but for a re-reading of Paradise Lost, and an enlarged appreciation of Milton along these authoritative lives of glorification. When the Nation had caught up with this review of the poem, editions poured from

60. Spec.No.10. 60,000 copies when only a week old.
61. See Appendix [I] , for 18th. century emphasis on this Critique.

the press in multiplied abundance.[62]

But the man, next to Tonson, who was keenest to utilize the immediate benefits of this renewed national exaltation of Milton was the classical Voltaire, who was then in England. He understood thoroughly the place that Milton now occupied in classical criticism and also in the hearts of the English people. To ingratiate himself into national favor, this Frenchman needed only to write his Essay Upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations, From Homer down to Milton, with its masterful exaltation of Milton along the popular lines of praise. This Essay was written in English, printed in London (1727), and contained some of the highest commendation of Milton hitherto produced.

> If Jusserand (Eng. Essays, 196) is right in emphasizing the motive that produced this Essay, as a desire for acquaintance and popularity, then J.C.Collins (Voltaire,&c. in England, 68-73) has made it plain that Voltaire was wise in the selection and treatment of his subject to that end; and the last writer, re-inforced by Morley (Voltaire, 86), has made it plain that Voltaie was willing to pay for his English popularity the labour necessary "not only to master and appreciate the secret of Milton's poetic power, but even to ascertain the minutest circumstance of his life."
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> Mr. Collins says, "The critique on Paradise Lost, which is described as 'the noblest work which human imagination hath ever attempted,' gives us a higher idea of Voltaire's critical powers than any of his French writings. His vindication of Milton's poem against some of the objections urged against it so characteristically by the French critics, his remarks on Milton's conception and picture of the Deity, and on the grand unity of the work amid its endless variety, would indeed have done honour to Longinus." Collins cites, with hearty relish, Voltaire's estimate of Milton's treatment of love as a virtue, which closes with the assurance, that Milton "soars not above human, but above corrupt nature; and as there is no instance of such love, there is none of such poetry."

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62. Editions- 1711,1719, 1720, 1721, 1724, 1725, 1727(two),1730, 1731, 1732.
Another expression of this re-action was Elegancies Taken Out of Para.Lost(1725). Another product was An Index of the Principal Matters in Para.Lost, prepared by Thomas Tickell (1686-1740), a friend to Addison, who had conducted through the press Tonson's edition of 1720, in which the Citique was first printed with the poem. Warton's Milton,1791. 608.

Voltaire's Essay was received with great applause,[63] and did much for the rank and fame of Milton. Voltaire prided himself, indeed, upon having discovered Milton to the Continent of Europe. But this pride soon gave place to other feelings.

> "Voltaire had no sooner awakened an interest in Milton, than he arrived at the conclusion that an excess of admiration for this foreign poet might endanger the good taste of Europe; the piquancy of having discovered Milton gave place -- as soon as others began to occupy themselves with his poetry -- to repentance for the momentary back-sliding which had led him to forget his responsibilities as the guardian of literary taste and propriety. .... Voltaire veered round at once; he expunged as much of the praise as he reasonably could from his Essay on Epick Poetry before publishing it in France, and, from now on, his attacks on Milton were even more unscrupulous than his antagonism in later life to Shakespeare. He ridiculed the English Poet in his Candide, and even parodied him in Pucelle." [64]

In the meantime other classicists were concerning themselves in a less formal, but rather important, way. The poems of of John Pomfret (1667-1703) show a pleasing familiarity with Paradise Lost;[65] and John Hughes alluded to the Poem as "a nobler song," in his Ode in Praise of Music (1703). Edward Bysshe published his Art of English Poetry(1702), quoting forty-eight lines from Paradise Lost (Book iv) as "an example of blank verse" from"the most celebrated poem of this kind of verse." In this work Milton

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63. But Voltaire's studies in Milton's sources were not very cordially received. Voltaire claimed a heavy endebtedness of Milton to an Italian Tragedy by Adreino. This view was assailed by P. Rolli, the translator of Paradise Lost, in his Remarks upon Voltaire's Essay (London, 1728); and again by Ginseppe Baretti, in A Dissertation Upon Italian Poetry(1753). The latter held Voltaire's view ridiculous. Baretti held also that Milton alone had equalled Dante, that he was acquainted with and probably endebted to the Italian poet.

64. J.G.Robertson, Milton's Fame on the Continent. Proc. Brit.Acad. 1907-08. p. 326.
This shifting of Voltaire's attitude was analogous to that of the German classicist Gottsched, who first hailed Para.Lost with pleasure, but turned violently against it when it was exalted as a standard of imaginative literature.

65. Cf. To Delia, and On the Marriage of the Earl of A. Chalmers, Eng.Pts. 8:316,323. His Poems were popular: eds. 1699? 1702, 1710, 10th ed. 1736, last 1790.

appeared, in liberal quotations, on at least ninty different pages, and all from Paradise Lost except one or two citations from Samson Agonistes.[66]

Budgell quoted Milton's Looking-glass passage, and suggested a probable moral application.[67] The Lay Monastery emphasized the descriptive excellence of Paradise Lost as one source of its superior pleasure, and collected five descriptions of Morn as "drawn with exquisite beauty."[68] John Gay was attracted by the same excellence, and strove to set before his "gentle reader" a "picture, or rather lively landscape of thy own country, just as thou mightest see, didst thou take a walk into the fields at the proper season: even as Maister Milton hath elegantly set forth the same."[69] The Ladies Library(1714) quoted Otway, Milton and Dryden as among "the most polite writers of the age;"[70] and Mandeville, discussing the benevolent designs of Nature(1714), cited Milton's description of the Lion in Eden as an authority on primitive conditions of equal value with Moses.[71]

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66. Part I. pp. 35-36.
Sometimes whole pages are quoted: again there are five citations on a page. The popularity of this work is important. It was published 1702, 5ed.1714, 7ed.1724, 8ed.1737; besides which, Parts II and III, where most of the quotations occur, were published as The British Parnassus 1714, 1718. There can be little doubt that this Handbook on Poetry was a means of exalting Milton, and a medium for transmitting his thought and diction into the poetry of the times.

67. Spec. 325. March 13, 1712.

68. No.39.Feb.12,1713. Drake's Gleaner(1811). I.No.7. pp.50-51.

69. To the Courteous Reader, with The Shepherd's Week, in Six Pastorals(1714). Chalmers, Eng.Pts. 10: 444. Quoted P.L.ix.445-51.

70. "By A Lady." Published by R. Steele. Quoted with significant comment Milton's lines against woman(x.883-95). vol.I.2-3.

71. Bernarde de Mandeville (1670-1733). The Fable of the Bees. ed. 1729. Part II, p. 269. Published 1714, 2ed.1723, 5ed.1729, 9ed. 1755. He quoted here Para.Lost.. iv. 340-345.

The classicists betrayed at times a consciousness of Milton's superiority to the products of their own school. "If Dryden nodded," said Sir Charles Sedley(1702), "so did Homer too; if Virgil is inimitable, Milton can't be read without wonder and delignt."[72] Ten year later Parnell acknowledged this superiority, in An Explanatory Note on Allegory, addressed to Bolingbroke. Parnell said, "There have been poets amongst ourselves, such as Spencer and Milton, who have successfully ventured further (than pilfering imitation even of the Ancients). These instances may let us see that invention is not bounded by what has been done before: they may open our imaginations, and be one method of preserving us from writing without schemes."[73] Prior also magnified Milton's original genius, and justified his license with historical materials, as used in "one of the sublimest pieces of invention that ever was yet produced."[74] Few men felt the superiority of Milton with more conviction than did Bishop Atterbury, whose classical tastes did not hinder him from rereading Paradise Lost with "such new degrees..... of admiration and astonishment," as to "look upon the sublimity of Homer, and the Majesty of Virgil with somewhat less reverence." He even challenged Pope to show, "with all his partiality," anything in Homer "equal to the Allegory of Sin and Death, either as to their greatness and justness of the Invention, or the height and beauty of the colouring."[75]

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72. Preface to The Misc. Works. London, 1702. J. Nutt.
73. Essay on the Different Styles of Poetry. Written 1712, pub. March, 1713. Chalmers, Eng.Poets. 9: 413.
74. Preface to Solomon on the Vanity of the World. Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 10: 206. Aldine Ed. II, 83.
75. Letter To Pope. Nov.8, 1717. Birch, Life of Milton(1738). I. p. L.

This last important quotation circulated in the highest circles of neo-classicism. Pope did not undertake to answer the challenge, probably becaue of his own obligations to Milton. These are glaring in most of Pope's poems; but a poet who held that mere polish of thought gave a deed of possession for all time, could scarcely be expected to advertise the sources of his rough materials. But even Pope, at times, acknowledged his indebtedness to the superior excellences of Paradise Lost.

In his Preface to the Iliad (1720), Pope owned that there was a "living fire" in Milton and Shakespeare, comparable to that in the Ancients (p.3); emphasized the advantage of "Graecisms and old words after the manner of Milton (p.10); and proposed to preserve the spirit of Homer by constant attention to Virgil among the Ancients, and Milton among the Moderns(p.11). Long before this(1713) Pope had recommended the writer of an Epic to draw his Devils from Paradise Lost, and to imitate the language of Milton.[76] In his Postscript To The Odyssey(1726), Pope openly "allowed that there is a majesty and harmony in the Greek language, which greatly contribute to elevate and support the narration," and acknowledged that "some use has been made to this end of the style of Milton." In this Postscript Pope devoted a section of more than five hundred words to the criticism of Milton, commended his style, and characterized his imitators as "not copies, but caricatures of their original."[77]

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76. Receipt to Make an Epick Poem. Guardian 78. June 10, 1713. Brit. Essayists, 1823. xiv. No. 78.

77. It may be noticed here, that Swift, who shows little evident influence of Milton, in The Art of Sinking in Poetry, (1727), if he had a hand in that performance, treated Milton with a respect that was in keeping with the reverential attitude of the time. Works of J. Swift (ed. W. Scott), Edinburgh, 1814. xiii, 16-98.

Recurring now to the original position of th pseudo-classical school, that Milton was irregular, and therefore fundamentally limited as to litereary rank, one may discover a re-action along a new line that served to exalt Milton. This movement amounted in spirit to a sort of retaliation in criticism which exulted in the triumph of Paradise Lost. The new position of some of the Milton sympathizers seems to have resulted from the clash between Dennis and the pseudo-classical school of poets. The admirers of Milton could not bear to see him take second rank among the poets. When the classicists affirmed that Milton did not conform to the rules of highest excellence, the admirers affirmed that Milton was not subject to the rules imposed. His Poem may not be heroic. It may not be epic. But it was a new kind, it was a divine poem. Having made this discovery, the devotees of Milton were prepared to exalt him even above Homer and Virgil.

This conviction, often ill-formulated, pervades many encomiums of Milton. One can feel it in the letter of Atterbury To Pope, already quoted. As early as 1693, Samuel Wesley(1662-1735), father of the famous John Wesley(1703-1791), declared Milton's Paradise Lost "an original, and indeed he seems rather above the common Rules of Epick than ignorant of them. It's I'm sure a very lovely poem, by whatever name its called, and in it he has many thoughts and Images, greater than perhaps either Virgil or Homer."[78] The same sentiment pervaded Toland's Life; as when he described Milton's "divine and incomparable poems, which, equalling the most beautiful order and expression of any ancient or modern compositions,

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78. Life of Our Blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. An Heroic Poem.(1693). Englische Studien, 1909. 40: 180.

are infinitely above them all for sublimity and invention."

This idea of something new and different seems to appear in Felton's popular Dissertation on Reading the Classics (1711), when he says of Milton, that "his style, his thoughts, his verse, are as superior to the generality of other poets, as his Subject." It was a rather common feeling that Milton's Paradise Lost did not belong to the common catagories of poetry, but stood apart and alone, "inimitably great." This view was formally defended by Gildon, when he took Addison to task for attempting to criticize a divine poem by the common laws of the Epic. [79] That deep-rooted conviction of Milton's supremacy through the invention of a superior kind of poetry, so admirably expressed in the following words of Warburton, is not entirely unfelt even today.

> "Milton produced a third species of poetry: for just as Virgil rivalled Homer, so Milton emulated both. He found Homer possessed of the province of Morality, Virgil of Politics, and nothing left for him but that of Religion. This he seized as aspiring to share with them in the Government of the Poetic world; and by means of the superior dignity of his subject, got the the Head of that Triumvirate, which took so many ages in forming. These are the species of the Epic poem; for its largest province is human Action which can be considered but in a moral, a political, or religious view; and these the three great creators of them; for each of these Poems was struck out at a heat, and came to perfection from its first Essay. Here then the grand scene is closed, and all further improvement of the Epic at an end." [80]

During this period one essential consideration respecting Milton's rank was the question of his versification. That the controversy at this point should be rather spirited, was inevitable. The Restoration controversy between rhyme and blank verse was already under way when Milton published his Epic.

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79. The Laws of Poetry, 1721. p. 259.

80. Wm.Warburton (1698-1779). The Divine Legation of Moses(1737-8). The Works, edited by Richard Hurd, 1811. II, 95.

During the Commonwealth, the English refugees in France had learned to write heroic plays in heroic couplets. The consequent introduction of rhyme upon the English stage at the Restoration was contrary to the English dramatic traditions so well established during the Elizabethan period. Rhyme in tragedy was an innovation that called for reasonable justification. The great champion of the new mode was the enthusiastic young poet John Dryden. For want of an opposing champion of equal strength, the conflict was for a time a very one-sided affair. Dryden and his allies in the new school were obliged to attack old traditions more than present antagonists. In a spirit of condescension, they were attempting to show the superior excellences of the couplet over the unrefined liberties of the Elizabethan tragic versification. Unrhymed verse in other forms of poetry was felt to be a thing scarcely to be considered.

But the balance of power was soon restored in favor of the old traditions, though it took a long time to regain all that had been lost. The advantage came in 1667, when Milton poured into this unequal conflict 10,520 lines of one vast poem in blank verse. This peom, perhaps the greatest single product of modern poetic genius, was not a tragedy, but an epic. It was, therefore, not merely a defence of contested ground, but an aggressive invasion of the territory of the opposing forces. Paradise Lost lifted the controversy above the petty limitations of the heroic drama, and showed that the real issues involved were the vital and universal principles of poetry itself.

Upon these fundamental principles of poetry, Milton himself made one authoritative pronouncement, which was to his mind

final. This statement was made in The Verse, prefixed to the Paradise Lost in 1668. In this Preface Milton asserted that "heroic verse without rime" was the real classic verse of Homer and Virgil; that "rime....(was) no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre;" and that the modern custom of rhyming had led to inferior poetic expression. He affirmed that, "not without cause," some Italian and Spanish poets, and "long since our best English tragedies," have rejected rime, "as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight." This true poetic delight, he then defined, as consisting "only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse to another, not in the jingling sound of like endings--- a fault avaoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory." He claimed that his own neglect of rhyme was not a defect, "though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers," but was rather "to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming."

In his various Prefaces, Dryden was arguing, conclusively it may have seemed, for the exalted advantages of rhyme. It aided the memory. It added life and strength to reparte. It was an ornament of grace and sweetness to the verse. It limited the Fancy, and curbed the wild and extravagant imagination. Even blank verse was elevated above the dignity of natural conversation: having made this departure, the superior poet must go on to the perfection of rhyme.

Obviously Milton had in mind these views of Dryden, some of which were more fully developed in the later writings of the latter poet. But such a statement from Milton, supported by his reputation for learning, and the excellence of two great Epics and a Tragedy upon the true ancient model, inspired full confidence in those opposed to the new school of the couplets. Milton was unanimously regarded the leader of this opposition, Paradise Lost was the rallying point of all the forces, and Milton's Verse was the war-cry of every attack upon the couplet.

No one was quicker to perceive the authority of Milton's voice in this matter than Dryden, who made in 1668 a place for blank verse in heroic poetry.[81] Andrew Marvell was also confident that Milton's was ultimately the true position(Trib.8). But there were some who denied to blank verse any place in poetry, and consequently denied to Milton and considerable rank as a poet.

This extreme position was taken by Thomas Rymer, who proposed (1678) an attack upon the "slender sophistry" of Milton respecting versification;[82] and by Samuel Woodford, who strongly defended rhyme (1679) against the growing fashion of blank verse.[83] The spirit of both of these writers indicated a strong popular sentiment in favor of what Woodford called the new fashion of the age. This attack proposed by Rymer seems to have been abandoned. Perhaps it was blocked by the re-actionary Preface by Dryden in favor of blank verse for the stage.[84] But the question

81. Essay on Dramatic Poesie(1668). Essays(Ker), I. 94-108.
82. Tragedies of the Last Age(1678).
83. Samuel Woodford(1636-1700). A Paraphrase Upon the Canticles London, 1679. Preface, p. 21 marked "C3."
84. Preface to All For Love (1678). Essays (Ker). vol. I.

of rhyme as an essential of poetry was destined for long debate. Perhaps a final answer was intended by The Athenian Mercury in 1694. The question was formally asked, and this Oracle of Wisdom replied: "No certainly, for none will say Milton's Paradise is not Verse tho' he has industriously, and in some places to a fault, avoided Rhyme."[85] With equal assurance, Gildon affirmed (1721), after the authority of Milton, that number and harmony alone were essential to poetry.[86]

Comparatively few critics were extreme enough to rule out blank verse altogether. More numerous were those who allowed it an inferior place in poetry. Such, in general, was the position of Dryden, and of most of his followers in the pseudo-classical school of poetry. But this concession was usually limited to dramatic versification. Very early Dryden admitted blank verse into Tragedy, and later made it the practice of his own pen. But very late in life, he refuse to "justify Milton for his blank verse," though he might be "excused" by certain examples in literary history.[87] The defence of rhyme was, however, left largely in the hands of Dryden. There was a deluge of couplets, from poets great and small, who made little effective effort to defend the principles of their practice.

Some of these rhymed productions have a bearing upon the question of Milton's rank. One such product was Dryden's State of Innocence, undertaken by Milton's permission, and published in 1677. This work was of special importance in that it

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85. The Athenian Mercury, Dec.26,1694. Eng. Stu.,1909. 40:180.
86. The Laws of Poetry, 1721. p. 69.
87. Origin and Progress of Satire (1693). Essays(Ker). II.29-30.

afforded a just comparison between the two great masters of the opposing schools in dealing with the same subject. The comparison that was made has stood the test of time. "Mr. Dryden," exclaimed Charles Gildon, "(was) the greatest Master of rhyme that ever we had in England: but how weak, how enervated, I had almost said, how trifling, is his State of Innocence, compared with what Milton has said upon the same subject in blank verse!"[88]

Another similar attempt at improvement, incidentally important because treated with silence if not contempt, was Shakespeare Reduced to Couplets, by a Gentleman of Quality(1687). More significant was the regret of Wollaston that he did not use blank verse in The Design of Part of the Book of Ecclesiastes (1691);[89] and the repentant spirit of John Hopkins for having attempted to turn Milton's Paradise Lost into rhyme(1699).[90] "When I did it," said Hopkins, "I did not so well Perceive the Majesty and Noble air of Milton's style as I now do."

But from the publication of Milton's Verse with his Epic, his sympathizers were bold in declaring the merits of blank verse, as used and defended by their great master. On the negative side, some disparaged the use of rhyme;[91] some declared it "but vulgar art;"[92] and some condemned it out right.[93] Milton was,

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88. The Laws of Poetry, 1721. p. 121. Cf. also Examen Miscellaneum, Consisting of Verse & Prose. Lond.,1702. p. 189.

89. Wm.Wollaston(1660-1724).
"Had I been hardy enough like some others(which too late I) to have broken a barbarous custom and freed myself from the troublesome and modern bondage of Rhyming (as Milton calls it) the business which now immediately follows,had been something better than it is." Eng. Stu. 40:179.

90. Milton's Paradise Lost, Imitated in Rhyme, Bks.4,6,9.(1699).

91. Elkanah Settle(1648-1724). Pastor Fido (Li.1676). Prologue.

92. John Sheffield(1649-1721). Essay on Poetry (1682,1713,1723). Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 10: 91-94.

93. Lewis Theobald. Prologue to Orestes: a Dra. Opera(1731).

with Dryden, "the greatest Master of English Versification;" and Milton's superior excellence was in the freedom of his verse. He was thought to have approached nearest to the Ancients, and thereby to have opened up the way of "perfection and growth" to the mother tongue.[94] Some felt that the highest excellence of Dryden's verse was attained in his "run-on" lines, wherein he tended toward the style of Milton;[95] and one writer of some consequence deliberately undertook to combine the excellences of the two forms of versification.[96]

One author, who had a life-long interest in Milton, wrote a formal treatise on versification, apparently for the purpose of defining and exalting the classic freedom of the Miltonic verse.[97] The idea of rhyme being an unnecessary and barbarous yoke imposed upon the free range and liberty of thought, is a note that rang clear in almost every writer on the subject. This bondage was felt to be the source of much mischief.

> Of many faults Rhyme is perhaps the Cause;
> Too strict to Rhyme, we slight more useful Laws;
> For that in Greece or Rome was never known,
> Till, by ~~the~~ Barbarian Deluges o'reflown,
> Subdued, Undone, they did at last obey,
> And change their own for their Invaders way. 98

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94. The Whole Critical Works of Monsieur Rapin(1705). 2 vols. Preface of the Publisher (Roscommon?). vol. I, signed "Nov."
95. C. Gildon, The Complete Art of Poetry, 1718. I, pp. 300-303.
96. Isaac Watts (1674-1748). Preface to Horae Lyricae(1706).See Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 13: 19.
97. Wm. Benson(1682-1754). Letters Concerning Poetical Translation; and Virgil's and Milton's Art of Verse. London, 1713 and 1739. Benson erected the monument to Milton in Westminster Abbey in 1737.
98. Wentworth Dillon, 4th.Earl of Roscommon, (1633-1685). An Essay On Translated Verse.(1684). Chalmers, Eng.Poets. 8: 264. Spingarn, Crit.Essays in 17C. II. 297-309. Cf. also Tribute 14.

The Pseudo-classical school tended to emphasize refinement of poetic form. The adherents to blank verse emphasized magnitude of thought and grandeur of expression. For the one, restraint was essential to excellence. For the other, all real excellence was conditioned upon liberty of thought and expression, such as that afforded by blank verse and exemplified in the Paradise Lost. Upon this liberty depended the possibility of attaining the excellence of the Ancients.

In the interest of this necessary condition of poetic greatness, Edward Phillips argued (1675) that "Measure alone without any Rime at all would give far more ample Scope and Liberty both to Style and Fancy than can possibly be obtained in Rime, as evidently appears from an English Heroic poem which came forth not many years ago, and from the Style of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, &c."[99] Faith in the larger possibilities of blank verse was strongly advanced by Roscommon, and lies at the basis of Atterbury's famous prophetic criticism of Waller, which is especially important because of its early date (1690).

> "Waller's rhymes were always good,..... and take off the danger of surfeit that way, (he) strove to please by variety and new sounds. Had he carried this observation, among others, as far as it would go, it must, methinks, have shown him the incurable fault of this jingling kind of poetry: and have led his later judgment to blank verse. But he continued an obstinate lover of rhyme to the very last. He had raised it, and brought it to that perfection we now enjoy it in; and the poet's temper (which has always a little vanity in it) would not suffer him ever to slight a thing he had taken so much pains to adorn. My lord Roscommon was more impartial: no man ever rhymed truer and evener than he: yet he is so just as to confess, that it is but a trifle; and to wish the tyrant dethroned, and blank verse set up in its room. There is a third person (Mr. Dryden), the living glory of our English poetry, who has disclaimed the use of it upon the stage; though no

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99. Preface Theatrum Poetarum(1675). Spingarn, Crit. Essays in the 17th. Century. II. 266.

man ever employed it there so happily as he. It was the strength of his genius, that first brought it into credit in plays; and it is the force of his example, that has thrown it out again. In other kinds of writing it continues still; and will do so till some excellent arises, that has leisure, and resolution to break the charm, and free us from the troublesome bondage of rhyming, as Mr. Milton very well calls it; and has proved it very well, by what he has wrote in another way. But his is a thought for times at some distance; the present is a little too warlike: it may perhaps furnish out matter for a good form in the next, but it will hardly encourage one now: without prophesying, a man may easily know what sort of laurels are like to be in request."[100]

By 1706 George Granville (1667-1735) was discussing the various kinds of subjects that were suited to the several kinds of verse-form, with serious reflections upon the use of blank verse.[101] It looked then as if Atterbury's prophecy was destined to an earlier fulfilment than the prophet may have thought sixteen years earlier. The imitations of Milton at this time will show something of the same promise. In 1721, Gildon took a historical survey of the whole controversy, and confidently affirmed as a fact the triumph of blank verse for use in long poems, as suggested in Milton's Verse.[102] One does not wonder, therefore, to hear Aaron Hill soon afterwards exhorting the poets to rise

> Up from the ppppied vale! and ride the storm
> That thunders in blank verse![103]

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100. Preface to the Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems (1690). Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 8: 33.

101. Lord Lansdowne. The British Enchanters. Preface. Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 11:41.
Prior discussed also the same question as to his own practice. Preface to Solomon on the Vanity of the World. (1718). Chalmers, 10:206-7. Aldine Ed. II. 84.

102. The Laws of Poetry, 1721. pp. 65-69.

103. Poem in Praise of Blank Verse. Quoted by Warton, Essay on Pope, II. 186; and Beers, p. 217. Dated about 1726. Hill, however, later complained of the "blank verse eruptions." Richardson's Corresp. I, 101-104.

The general effect of this controversy about versification was to exalt the rank and honour of Milton. Not one step of advancement in theory was made upon Milton's Verse; but the constant attention devoted to his theory and exalted practice brought many to realize the truth of Milton's position. Obviously, the full import of this side of the Miltonic interests can neither be measured nor appreciated apart from the re-action to his influence upon verse-form, seen in the chapter on Imitations. Obviously too, the triumph at this point seems less complete, and perhaps was less so, for this is the special point of uncompromising antagonism between the admirers of Milton and the dominant pseudo-classical school of poetry.

Such are the lines of Miltonic interests in the general field of appreciation and criticism, by which Milton rose from the unknown to the best knwon, from obscurity to "the very pinnacle of the Temple of Fame." It needs only a moment of reflection, to see that it was practically all due to Paradise Lost. Milton soared to the Heavens on the wings of his own sublimity. On the Continent, it was otherwise. There, as appears even in the English writings of the time, Milton's reputation was made, or unmade, by his Prose Works. But in England, his Minor Poetry was little noticed, his Prose was little liked, while his Epic was, perhaps, the most noticed, most read, most criticized, and finally the most exalted Poem in the English Tongue.

Chapter VI. Controversies and Explanations - 1730 - 1765.

The period from 1730 to 1765 was pre-eminently a period of commentaries and controversies, concerned mainly with Paradise Lost. The great poem was defended against all attacks, and its contents were minutely explained. In relation to the Romantic movement, this period was one of deep and rich preparation for that great response to Milton, which was evident in the preceding period, rather prominent in this period, and powerful in the next.

A part of that response was, however, due to the Minor Poems, which were introduced into general familiarity at this time; and to the Prose Works, which were rendered more or less popular. These lesser lines of activity will receive attention first in the present chapter.

About the middle of this period certain of the Minor Poems sprang into prominence as the adopted forms of expression among the ode-writers, and in the smaller poetry of the time. Such interests belong properly to the story of poetic imitations. But the earlier poems of Milton were not without a measure of general and critical interest in the present period.

Thomas Warton declared that the Minor Poems of Milton emerged into critical notice in connection with the Bentley Controversy (1732), which is discussed later in this chapter. The disputed point in that controversey was the authenticity of certain portions of Paradise Lost which Bentley had regarded as spurious. In opposition to these views of Bentley, Pearce, Warburton, and others supported the genuineness of the passages in question by

appealing to the poetic usages of Milton in the earlier poetry. Thus the Minor Poems came into critical notice under a heavy debt to the larger interests of Paradise Lost.

The obligation was even greater in the biographical interests that marked the next stage in the introduction of the Minor Poems. Previous to this period, the life of Milton had been written largely from the materials of his controversial Prose writings. But the exaltation of Milton, together with the passing of political malice, led the biographers to realize, early in this period, that Milton's political career was in the nature of an episode in the life of a great poet. Consequently emphasis began more and more heavily to fall upon the Minor Poems as important to the history of the poet, and as furnishing the real antecedents of Paradise Lost.

This transition of emphasis began faintly to appear in the Life by Feuton(1725), who accorded some of the Minor Poems' new notes of praise. The new emphasis was prominent in the Life by the Richardsons(1734), who attempted to trace, in the earlier poetry and the prose, the development of the genius that produced Paradise Lost. Birch, under the same impulse in his Life of Milton(1738), published the corrected MSS of the great poet, as a satisfaction to these who were curious about the earlier experimentation of that genius whom England honored above all others. Peck, in his Memoirs(1740), carried the new emphasis into an analysis of the several Minor Poems. This work marked a new stage of introduction, when the Minor Poems began to be treated on their own account. Hitherto, however, the introduction of these earlier poems of Milton had been the concern of scholars;

and, even with them, the Minor Poems had been emphasized almost entirely because of their relations to Paradise Lost.

The manner in which the Minor Poems became the familiar possession of the general public was not the natural sequence of the preceding labours of scholarship. All of these poems, including Samson and excluding Lycidas, that became popular at this time, were sung into popularity.

Lycidas, the single exception to this rule, owed its early introduction to biographical emphasis, and, probably, in a measure, to its place in Dryden's Miscellany (1716,1727). The poem was quoted in a very familiar manner by Wm.Duncombe(1735),[1] and similarly alluded to in the Vision of Patience(1741), by Samuel Bryce.[2] Lycidas seems to have been earlier known and more widely read, than the other Minor Poems, which depended for first popularity upon adaptation and the support of song.

Comus was adapted for the stage by Dr. John Dalton, and set to music by Dr. Arne, in 1738. In this form, the Masque became very popular,[3] , was acted in different cities, gave its author, Dr. Dalton, a lasting reputation,[4] and reached its historical climax on April 5, 1750, when the literary men of London boosted a performance of Comus for the benefit of Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, Milton's grand-daughter.[5]

A critical announcement of the original performance(1738), while indicating no great popular familiarity with the poem, regarded this revival as evidence of a wholesome

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1. Wm.Duncombe(1690-1769). Pms on Sev. Occs.. by J. Hughes.1735. Preface,p.111.
2. Saml. Boyse (1708-1749). The Vision of Patience. An Allegorical Poem.1741. Chalmers E. Pts. 14: 559-41.
3. Chapter III, p.33, for Eds. Warton's Milton,1791.pp.xi-xii.

literary taste.[6] Certainly this revival was evidence of a new literary interest beginning to assert itself against the dominant mode of the times.

Two years later(1740), Samson Agonistes was transformed into a three-act oratorio, set to music by Handel, and attained an unusual popularity for that classical performance.[7] This Tragedy was not unknown, having been kept before the public to some extent by its historical connection with the epic poems.[8] But at this time the modified Tragedy was associated with the Companion Poems in a manner effective for their popularity.

These little masterpieces, destined soon to be most popular, seem to have been the last of the more prominent Minor Poems to receive separate distinction. John Hughes had felt Il Penseroso incomplete, and supplied a supplement. Dr. Duncombe, describing this work of Hughes, pronounced the poems "incomparable." (1735) Peck declared L'Allegro and Il Penseroso translated into all modern languages, and admired at home and abroad (1740). The Companion Poems really became popular the year of Peck's commendation, and then through the musical adaptation of them by Handel. They lie on the border-line between lyrical and descriptive poetry.[9] Handel, perceiving their lyrical possibilities, adapted

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4. Mo. Rev. March, 1797. 103(22): 329.
5. See Appendix J, where the notes of Milton's family takes notice of this and similar matters.
6. "The Masque of Comus, exhibited at Drury-Lane, was wrote by Milton: It is a pastoral kind of poem, and some of as beautiful Descriptions and Images run thro' it, as are to be found in any of his other Writings. The Stile, as it is rural, is more simple and plain than that of P.L., and tho' there is nothing but must give infinite pleasure to the most exalted Genius, there is nothing beyond the Comprehension of a common capacity." Gent. Mag. March,1738. 8:151.
7. Chapter II, p.32, which shows 9 eds. between 1742 and 1765.
8. "D.R." The Craftsman, No. 490. Nov.22, 1735. 14: 186-192. 189.

them into song, set them to his own glorious music, and made them a part of his Samson Oratorio (1740). Their superiority was felt at once and their popularity was immediate.

With the foregoing fact in mind, one is prepared to appreciate the assertion of Joseph Warton, that the Minor Poems of Milton were sung into popularity. Speaking of the Nativity Ode, he said:

> "This Ode, (is) much less celebrated than L'Allegro and Penseroso, which are now universally known; but which, by a strange fatality, lay in a sort of obscurity, the private enjoyment of a few curious readers, till they were set to admirable music by Mr. Handel. And indeed this volume of Milton's Miscellaneous Poems has not till very lately met with suitable regard." In the same pages, he said, that Pope and Young were "more frequently perused and quoted than the L'Allegro and Il Penseroso of Milton." 10

Most of the Minor Poems showed rather definite lines of reaction to this popularizing activity of the stage and song. Lycidas provoked some formal criticism at the hands of William Shenstone, because of its interest as an elegy. He discussed the verification, mentioned "two recent and beautiful imitations," and regarded the verse form as the best for an elegy of length, though he was never fully reconciled to the remoteness of the rhymes.[11] But the real re-action to Lycidas was more productive than critical. The poem allied itself with the Druid element of the Celtic revival; as plainly appeared in the emphasis of Warton's Essay on Pope,[12]

~~9. Poems &c..... by John Hughes. edited by W. Duncombe, 1735. Preface lviii,~~

10. Essay on Pope. 1756. 5th.ed. vol.1, pp. 36-38.
11. Wm. Shenstone(1714-1763). A Prefactory Essay on Elegy. Wks. in Verse & Prose. 2 vols.1777. 1. 21-22. Chalmers E.P. 13:264.
12. Jos. Warton (1722-1800). Essay on Pope(1756). 7, 356. 5 ed. Cf. Beers. Romanticism. 192-3.

9. Edward Bliss Reed. English Lyric Poetry. p. 11.

and in the writings of Dr. Hugh Blair, who was able to point out remarkable parallels in the Poems of Ossion.[13]

Comus was the inspiration of some imitations, but of very little formal criticism at this time . The distinctive re-action to the popularity of this Masque was a peculiar chorus of echoes in the poetry of this mid-century period.

Comus was quoted to show "the tender Emotions of a Heart in Love infinitely more pleasing than the short-lived Extacies of Vice and Wantonness."[14] Lord Melcombe placed the following significant lines "Under the Busto of Comus, in a Buffet at Hammersmith:"

> While rosy wreaths the goblet decks,
> Then Comus spoke, or seemed to speak;
> "This place for social hours designed,
> May Care and Business never find. &c. 15.

In sharp contrast with the above was the tone of Charles Emily, in his poem called Death(1762):

> The festive roar of laughter, the warm glow
> Of brisk-eyed joy, and friendship's genial bowl,
> .....
> Delight not ever: from the boisterous scene,
> Of riot far, and Comus's wild uproar,
> .....
> Permit me.....lonely to wander. 16

Both tones of reminiscence appear in John Cunningham, who in one poem placed "Blithe Comus to guide the gay feast,"[17] and in another

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13. Hugh Blair, D.D.(1718-1800). A Crit.Disser. On the Pms of Ossian. 1763. Vol. 1. 71-222. pp. 207-8.
14. An Essay on Love and Gaiety. Gent. Mag. Feb., 1741. 11: 78-79.
15. Geo.B. Dodington(d.1762). Dated "Aug.,1750," and may echo the special performance of Comus in April of that year. Pearch, Continuation, 1783. 1: 329.
16. Chas. Emily (d. 1762). Death. Lloyd's Mag. Oct., 1762. 1:91-9. Pearch, 1. 16-26. Cf. his Praise of Isis(1755). Pearch, 1:26-38.
17. John Cunningham(1729-1773). Newcastle Beer. Chalmers, 14:453.

spoke of man spending"his rich hours in revelry... with Comus, and the laughter loving crew."[18] Sir John Hill was even more explicit, in his poem called The Rout (1763):

> Yet, to the Rout one beauty did resort,
> Like Milton's lady in his Comus-court;
> One (as he signs) a nymph of purer fire,
> A virgin worthy the celestial choir.[19]

Garrick, too, who once took part in Comus, did not forget the essentials of that Comus-court;[20] and even Gray recalled "Comus, and his midnight crew," in his great Installation Ode, written for a very formal occasion.

The re-action to Samson Agonistis, was, on the contrary, so far as records indicate, almost entirely critical. The Adaptation was evidently popular, but the original classical Tragedy is the thing that claimed critical attention. While the adaptation was in the midst of its popularity, Dr. Johnson subjected the Tragedy to a most severe examination(1751) under the rules of Aristotle.

> The Doctor allowed the Tragedy to have "a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved; but it must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson. The whole drama, if its superfluities were cut off, would scarcely fill a single act; yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded." The sentiments, too, he found "exposed to just exceptions for want of care, or want of discernment." This treatment he closed with a long list of the beauties of the Tragedy, and an appended statement of his own purely literary motive in this examination.

This appendage was, perhaps, the most significant part of his papers, since it indicated an uneasy feeling respecting the Doctor's attitude toward Milton.[21]

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18. Same. An Elegy On A Pile Of Ruins (1762). Chalmers, 14:443-5.
19. Sir John Hill (1716-1775). The Rout (1763). Lloyd's Mag. Jan. 1763. 1: 352-357.
20. Mr. Garrick's Answer (To Mr. Anstey....on Meeting him at a Friend's House). The Ptl.Wks. L,1785. 11. 522.

Others were concerned in the classical aspects of this Tragedy. Hurd regarded Samson (in 1751) "the most artificial and highly finished" of all Milton's poems, and for that reason, perhaps, the most neglected, but "the best dramatic Essay on the Ancient model."[22] Mason felt that Milton had adopted the ancient model out of contempt for his own age, and striving to make the difference felt, had formed "Samson Agonistes on a model more simple and severe than Athens herself would have demanded."[23] Goldsmith cited, with commendation, Milton's happy imitation of his Greek Models.[24] But the classical play as such was never popular; and Dr. Armstrong thought it hopeless even to transform Samson into a Tragedy.[25]

The Companion Poems provoked in this period a surprisingly small measure of criticism. The oratorio arrangement of the poems had served to emphasize their lyrical qualities; and in this distinctive character they received some critical attention.

Peck as stated elsewhere, in his Memoirs of Milton, defended these, and the other Juvenalia of Milton against the strictures of Dryden. Joseph Warton constantly exalted these Juvenalia of Milton, as superior in poetic charater to the works of Pope. Smart advanced the lyrical qualities of these poems beyond the best effort of the kind by either Dryden or Pope. That,too, was the quality which Newton especially commended in his Life of Milton.[26]

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21. A Critical Exam. of Samson Agonistes Rambler No.139. July 16, 1751. The Works. 1825. II, p.81. and 87. No. 140. July 20, 1751. Cf. also the familiar echo of Samson in No. 162. Oct. 5, 1751.
22. Rich. Hurd(1720-1808). The Wks. 1811. I. 73-74; and The Commonplace Book, Mem. 289.
23. Wm. Mason(1724-1797). Letter II, prefixed to Elfrida (1751) Chalmers Eng.Pts. 18: 339-340. Cf. Miltons Intro. to Samson.
24. O. Goldsmith(1728-1774). Criticism of the Greek Tragedies by Dr.John Burton(1696-1771). Mo.Rev. Dec.,1758. The Works, (ed.J.W.M.Gibbs) 4:315; (ed.Murray) 4: 328.

Smart said, in the preface to his Odes For Music on St. Cecilia's Day(1746), that Dryden's and Pope's similar odes " are incomparably beautiful and great; neither is there to be found two more finished pieces of lyric poetry in our language, L'Allegro and Il Penseroso of Milton excepted, which are the finest in any."[27] There was also a new interest in these poems aroused by the Edition of Beaumont and Fletcher(1750), whose song in The Passionate Madman was thought to have been a source of Il Penseroso.[28]

But the distinctive reaction to the Companion Poems, as to the Sonnets also, was that of imitation. The transition from the polished rationalism of Pope to the imaginative enthusiasm of the Romantic poets, may be looked on as a valley of low spirits. The mist of uncertainty obscured the summits on either side. There were no poets of the first rank, and comparatively little poetry of immortal excellence. In the valley there were, however, a few who rose enough above the common rank for notice in historical treatment. Some of these, as the Wartons, Collins, Gray, and others, owed a heavy debt to Milton's Companion Poems. ~~The situation was his~~ In this valley of depression and shadows, every one felt free to plunder the works of Milton.

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25. Dr.John Armstrong (1709-1779), as "Launcelot Temple." Sketches; Of English Verse.(I.157), and Of the Dramatic Unities (II,241-3). 1758 and 1770.
26. Thos.Newton (1704-1782). Life of Milton. Ed. Dublin, 1773. Vol.I. p. xxxix.
27. Christopher Smart(1722-1771). Preface to Ode &c. 1746. Chalmers Eng. Pts. 16: 24.
28. This edition of Beaumont & Fletcher, 10 vols (1750), was begun by Theobold,(1688-1744), and completed by Seward and Sympson. The suggestion of this source relation was made in the edition, and sanctioned by "T.W." in The Old Maid, Jan.31, 1756. Drake, in his Gleanor (No.98, II. 376-383), printed this article, and added The Author's Abstract of Melancholy ("probably 1600"), prefixed to Burton's Anatomy(1621) as another model.

They stole his vocabulary. They stole his Personifications. They stole his verse-form. They stole his scheme of psychological contrast. But they could not steal his spirit. That was too high for them to attain. The result was that there was much imitation, and little real poetry. Only those who were great enough to possess poetic powers of their own, by which they might supply a body and a soul to these outward garbs of poetry, produced anything that was worth while. But those who represented this type of reaction to Milton's poems produced a small volume of verse that is possessed of considerable merit.

While the nation thus diverted itself with the Minor Poems of Milton, everyone felt that the serious business of Milton, his message to the world, and his influence upon that age, was a question of his Prose Writings, and even more of his great epic. To these the nation addressed itself most seriously, most profoundly.

This was the period when the Prose Works were rendered comparatively popular. Two generations of those that hated Milton had passed away. The Puritan movement, which had so profoundly affected the life of England and the American Colonies, was sufficiently remote for historical study, that would throw light upon the present problems of depressed England. Moreover, the very depression of England was felt by many to be connected with the national losses sustained in the defeat of the powerful and progressive Puritan movement. The formalism of the Queen Anne Period had crushed the life and spirit out of the nation, and left only a condition of despondency. The culmination of many circumstances turned the minds of men toward the seventeenth century as a possible source of relief from depression. There was, therefore, in this period, a revival of the political writings of those

troublous times, a revival that concerned itself most centrally with the prose works of Milton.

The conduct of this revival was largely in the hands of that progressive element of the Whig Party which later developed into the radical politicians. Among these leaders one may find the name of the Scotch Poet James Thomson(1700-1748) a student, lover, and imitator of Milton's verse, a whig, pronounced but not radical, whose political views show many points of sympathy with those of Milton. Next to him was the more ardent whig biographer, the Rev. Thos. Birch, DD.(1705-1766), Secretary of the Royal Society, who rose rapidly in the church under the patronage of the influential Hardwicke Family, and whose pronounced whigism in The Life of Arch-bishop Tillotson (1752, 1753) created a commotion in the ranks of Toryism. Closely allied with Birch in many ways was the republican Richard Baron (d.1766), whose copious editorial work gave him a prominence in the progressive ranks that his native abilities would not otherwise justify.[29] Another leading spirit in this group that grew ever more radical, was the adventurous Arch-deacon Francis Blackburne (1705-1787), a liberal in politics, with a pronounced antipathy to certain regulations in the Established Church,[30] who late in life published Milton's Eikonoklastis and the

29. Baron was a close friend of Gordon, author of the Independent Whig. As an editor, Baron made for Hollis a collection of works defending the republicaism of the 17c. Edited the Disc. on Govmt, by Algernon Sidney (1751), Milton's Prose(1753), Ludlow's Memoirs (1751), Eikonaklastes (1756), reprtd 1770, Nedham's Excellency of a Free State(1757), and was asked by Hollis for an edition of Marvell. (D.N.B. He also collected the liberal writings of Gordon, Hoadly, Sykes, Arnall, and Blackburne, into his Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken (1767).

30. He held that a pledge to accept and teach from the Bible was all that should be required of protestant pastors. In 1752 he severely attacked Butler's Serious Inquiry into the Importance of External Religion.

Tractate along with a severe castigation of Dr. Johnson for abusing the great English Poet. The man, however, who most nearly combined all these liberal elements and activities was Thomas Hollis (1720-1774). He claimed to be "a true whig," but was accused of being a republican. He was said to have been very pious, but did not attend church, and was accused of atheism. His ancestors had contributed to Harvard College, and he did much for the spirit of American liberty. His extended editorial work did much to revive the force of seventeenth century radicalism in politics.[31] He was acurious collector of Milton relics, regarded the great poet as the Champion of English Liberty, and made for himself some fame by this alliance with the views of Milton.[32]

Milton's history was never without sympathetic readers.[33] But these leaders of liberalism set themselves deliberately to make the controversial writings of Milton known, understood, popular. They poured forth the spirit of those writings in blank verse arguments for liberty. They wrote an effective Life of Milton. They published his Prose Works in two massive folio editions, and special Tracts in separate form. They threw around those Works an interpreting re-inforcing mass of seventeenth century literature of a kindred spirit.

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31. Toland's Life of Milton and Amyntor(1761), Sidney's Discon Govermt (1763), Neville's Plato R[illegible] (1763). Locke's Two Treatises on Govmt (1764) and Letters Concerng Toleration(1765), Staveley's Romish Horse-leech(1769), Neville's Isle of Pines (1768), Sidney's Works.(1772).
32. The Memoirs of Thos. Hollis (1780), privately printed. Edited by T. Brand (Hollis), including a potrait of Milton, age tem, and much curious information concerning the poet. Cr. Rev. Sept.1781. 52: 161-175. Chap IV, Note //
33. Appendix A.

Above all, and through all, they insisted that "all young gentlemen (should) study our old writers, especially Milton and Sidney, as one remedy for those evils which threaten the utter ruin of our country."[34] By these means, the works of Milton that had earlier been condemned en masse,[35] were brought into favorable notice, and caused to be read with discriminating attention and sympathetic interest.[36] Thus was preparation made for a deep and radical influence from Milton's Prose Works upon the political aspects of the Romantic Movement.

But more significant for Milton's influence upon that Movement as a whole was the energy expended upon Paradise Lost during this period of Defence and Explanation. Having exalted Milton to the skies, his admirers were jealous of his rank with a devout and intolerant jealousy. But they had fully received of his treasures, and were even more than willing freely to give. Besides, these exalted treasures came to have a new significance in connection with the Romantic tendencies which arose during this mid-century period. This poem, which had already been successfully exalted in opposition to the dominance of the couplets, became the rallying point for imaginative literature in its triumphant victory over the rational element in poetry. Moreover, the poem had, in germ at least, the essentials of many a specific

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34. Preface to Baron's Eikonoklastes (1756). Quoted by the Review, which declared the nation under obligation to this editor. Mo.Rev. Aug., 1756. 15: 192.
35. Cf. Tributes No. 21, 23, 32, etc.
36. Political animosity, of course, did not at any time die out. Cf. Rich. Hurd's strictures on Milton's Defence. Commonplace Book (Memoirs, 303-305). Lady D. Bradshaigh had never read the treatise on Divorce, having "heard it much condemned, as a thing calculated to serve his own private ends." To Mr. Richardson (Rich. Corresp. vi. 198. July 28, 1752).

line of Romantic development. It was but natural therefore that the very spirit of this age should labor with a sword in one hand and a commentary in the other, while it patriotically built the contents of this important poem into the heart and life of the nation. The effect of all this activity was to make the poem the common possession of the English public, and thus prepare for a far-reaching influence upon life itself, that cannot well be measured.

By comparison, this was the great period of critical Editions of Paradise Lost. Before 1720 the Annotations of Hume had supplied the demand, until the Critique of Addison was utilized by Tonson in his Edition of 1720. But the present period (1720-1765) was ushered in by the formal labors of the learned Dr. Richard Benley(1662-1742), whose editions appeared in 1732. The work was unwisely undertaken,[37] in response to a request from Queen Caroline, who cherished a life-long interest in the great English Poet. The earlier interest of the Queen, while she was still the Princess of Wales, in befriending the destitute Mrs. Clarke, daughter of Milton, is one of the memorable and pathetic events of Literary History. No doubt the Queen intended to present to the Milton-loving English people a monumental edition of Paradise Lost, with copious elucidating annotations from the lore of the Ancients. No doubt, too, she congratulated herself upon securing for these labors the man who was the very embodiment of Ancient Learning, and , therefore, as she thought, best fitted for this work.

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37. Jas. Duff Duff. Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit. IX. Ch.xiii, pp. 378-380.

But the Queen's edition, unwisely undertaken, was infinitely more unwisely executed. Bentley was, with all his learning, very poorly equipped for this kind of work. He had a rather keen sense of poetic form, but very little sense otherwise, as it would seem, about the business of the Muses. What he did was to invent a fictitious Editor, who took advantage of Milton's blindness, poverty, and general odium, and interpolated into the first editions of Paradise Lost a lot of matter which Milton did not write. This, of course, was faulty in many ways, especially in versification. These supposedly spurious sections Bentley took from the body of the text, and place in the margin of his edition. In the process he thrashed Milton most severely over the shoulders of this fictitious Editor. Upon this theory he worked out his new edition of Milton's Paradise Lost, which was printed in an elaborate volume of 399 pages in 1732. But the Editor-theory was an evident shame. Milton was felt to be outraged, and his friends rose in arms. One may well imagine the poor Queen's disappointment, and even chagrin, at the consequence of her good intentions.

The storm however, did not break all at once. It had, on the contrary, gathered gradually. In 1725 Elijah Fenton had brought out an amended edition of Paradise Lost, which may have given Bentley some suggestions. This work of Fenton had perhaps some merits, and the new edition was popular. But there were some objections and some objectors. In 1731 The Traveller published Observations on an Edition of Milton published in 1725. This protest was designed to show "a few specimens of the ignorance, want of taste, and silly officiousness of Mr. Fenton, in his corrections of Milton." The writer pronounced the work of Fenton

"mean or trifling," and regretted "the privilege that rich booksellers have of putting it in the power of any ignorant editor to murder the finest authors."[38] Very soon the Grub-Street Journal ridiculed the same pretentious critic.[39]

In September 1731 Dr. Bentley published an Essay To Defend a Critical Emendation of Paradise Lost, setting forth the general intentions of this plan of criticism. At once he received the name of "fierce Bentley;" and an epigrammatic apostrophe to Charles I, said - "the murd'rous critic has avenged thy murder."[40] The Essay was only a prelude to the Edition, which appeared early in 1732. In his Preface the politic Doctor assumed an attitude of awe and veneration for Paradise Lost, played heavily upon the national sympathies for Milton's blindness and obscurity which laid him at the mercy of any one who might care to take advantage of these conditions; and marveled in congratulation to the nation, of course, that Paradise Lost, had ever triumphed over so many difficulties - an impossible result but for its inherent greatness.

But all this would not atone for the Doctor's offense, A Letter To Bavius(Gent.Mag.2:571-2) entered a strong protest against his edition. To the Reformer (2:601) was a severe castigation of the Doctor for mutilating Milton's text. This writer had "deem'd it sacrilege to treat Milton's work irreverently." A certain "A.Z." regarded this attempt over bold-(2:650-9). By April(1732) the critical methods of Bentley were under question. He had claimed the emendations made extempore, without any apprehension of censure. One writer admitted them extempore, but question the prudence of their publication(2: 690-1). A.Z. better informed, declared them under preparation for eight or nine years, and

cited Dr. Ashenhurst as proof-(3:757-4). He exposed the real intent of this supposed Editor, as a means of covertly abusing Milton himself. Other papers followed, with much the same ad hominem spirit.

But time had produced more scholarly discussions. These mainly dropped the editor-sham, which Bentley himself did not seriously credit. Zachary Pearce(1690-1774) published (1733,1737) a Review of The Text of Paradise Lost,in which the Chief of Dr. Bentley's Emendations are considered. Warburton pronounced These criticisms of Pearce "good in their kind, but not of the best kind".[41] This work of Pearce, with Swift's Milton Restored, and Bentley Deposed(1732) seems to have satisfied scholarship.[42] but not the national sense of outrage. That continued to vent itself at irregular intervals,[43] and today it is calmly regarded that Bentley probably

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38. Traveller,No.22,Feb.6,1751. Gent.Mag. Feb,1751. 1:55;
39. No.82,July 29,1731. Gent.Mag. July, 1731. 1: 301.
40. Grub St. Jour. No.99, pp.182-3, and No.100, p.193. Nov. 25, and Dec.2, 1731.
41. Hurd's Memoirs. p. 288.
42. David Mallet(1705-65.) Of Verbal Criticism(1733),devoted a section to Bentley's abuse of Milton. Chalmers, Engl.Pts. 14: 9-11. In 1779 there were Hints Toward a Life of Dr. Bentley. Gent.Mag. Nov.,1779. 49:545.
43. Upon Bentley's Emendations of Milton (1751). The Student - Oxford - Cambridge Misc.(1751) II. 358. ~~Upon Bentley's Emendations of Milton.~~

When Milton's forfeit life was in debate,
Some urged his crimes, and some th'unsettled state;
Hyde paus'd:- now keen resentment filled his breast,
Now softness sooth'd, while genius shone confessed:-
At length the lingering statesman thus his thoughts expressed.
When I consider with impartial view,
The crimes he wrought, the good he yet may do;
His violated faith and fictions dire,
His tow'ring genius and poetic fire;
I blame the rebel, but the bard admire.
Mercy unmerited his muse may raise,
To sound his monarch's, or his maker's praise.
Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate;-
By Bentley's pen reduc'd to woful state,
Far more thou'll dread his friendship than our hate.

helped the cause of Milton to the extent of correcting one mistaken long "S" for an "f". (VII, 450).

Critical editors profited, perhaps, by Bentley's fate, and later critical editions fared better with the public. The natural thing was a conservative reaction. This appeared in the labors of John Hawkey, who compared Paradise Lost with the authentic editions, and thus produced a revised edition of the poem, in Dublin, 1747. But the time was ripening toward a more extensive work than had yet appeared. In order to a full appreciation of this larger work, it is necessary to develop a different, but closely related, line of Miltonic activity. That is the work of the commontators, and critics, for whose labors this period is especially noted.

Milton was censured (1731) by John Clarke "for the impiety which sometimes breaks from Satan's mouth;"[44] but the prevailing opinion was that of excellence in this and most other respects. Even Swift, who was glad to see the poem turned into rhyme, declared that in the earliest days "it (had) gained ground merely by its merit."[45] These words are like the professed sentiments of Bentley, whose exceptions to that "merit" had turned the attention of scholarship to particular points of the exalted poem. Resolutely, the nation took up the task of setting these matters exactly right. The age and learning of Dr. Bentley led the

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43.(cont.)

Procustes like, he'll ever find pretense
To strain, or pare thee to this wretched sense.
Rack'd, skrew'd, enerv'd by emendation sad,
The hangman had not us'd thee half so bad.

44. Essay on Study, 1731. p. 204. Dr. Johnson later regarded this work of Milton very well done. Life of Milton (Hill) 1.178.

45. Letter to Sir Charles Wogan. July, 1732. Swift declared himself an admirer of Milton. Works(Scott,1814) 17:452-455.

critics and commentators, for the most part, to treat his name with respectful silence; but the force of reaction against his criticism was felt for many long years.

Among the early critical papers of this class, were the Remarks upon Spenser's Poem, by Dr. John Jortin,[46] which are said to be among his best critical works. But even these are rather dull papers, as might be expected from a writer whose mind could distinguish between "absolute and relative dryness" in criticism. Very different in character, and in effectiveness, no doubt, was the massive volume(546pp) of Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost, by J. Richardson, Father and Son, published the same year(1734). The Father(1665-1747) had acquired a refined taste from his extended experience in the sister arts of literature and painting. The Son(1694-1771) contributed most of the classical learning. Together they produced a sympathetic work that became a standard eighteenth century commentary on Paradise Lost.

From the early "thirties" discussions, incidental criticisms, and various helps multiplied in rapid succession. In 1735 William Shenstone, whose interests in Milton were rather varied, prepared Remarks on Paradise Lost, which, for some reason, have never been published.[47] Henry Pemberton(1694 - 1771) exalted Leonidas somewhat at the expense of Milton(1738). Birch gathered up in his Life of Milton (1738) considerable famous and favorable criticism of Paradise Lost. Benson's Letters,[48] dealing with Milton's verse, were republished in 1739. The same year a certain "F.T." attempted to fulfil Addison's promise to write on Milton's Borrowing from the Latin and the Greek Writers.[49] This public spirited

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46. John Jortin,D.D.(1698-1770). Remarks on Spenser's Poems. London, 1734. Pp. 171-186 treat Milton. Disney, in his

writer invariably commended the superiority of Milton over the Ancients.

Such is the exalted view of William Smith (1711-1787), in his Translation of Longinus on the Sublime, which first appeared in 1739.[50] Besides the Translation, this work contained copious Notes and Observations, which are practically a commentory on Paradise Lost from the standpoint of Longinus conception of the Sublime. Smith constantly and with approval cited Addison's Critique, but also showed a measure of independent critical thought. He never wearied of quoting from Paradise Lost the choicest illustrations of those excellencies of style recommended by Longinus. "The First Book of Paradise Lost," he regarded, "a continued Instance of Sublimity." In no sense did Smith allow Milton to be inferior to the Ancients; and there is but one line of Milton in the book quoted for censure. Among the points of special interest, Smith emphasized Milton's descriptive excellence; his exalted treatment of conjugal love - after the idea of Voltaire, no doubt; and his effective portrayal of the Lazar House. Of the last, he said, "we startle and groan at this Scene of Miseries in which the whole Race of Mankind is perpetually involved." From about this time Milton's description of social disorder seems to have come into a measure of prominence.

46.(cont.) Memoirs of Jordin(1792) accredited him with skill and taste in criticism. See Cr. Rev. Sept,1792. n.s. 6:39-45.
47. Br.Mus. Addit. MS. 28964. "Remarks on P.L.,1735." G.A. Aitken, D.N.B. "Shenstone."
48. Benson's Letters. 1713. Ch. V.,p. .
49. Gent. Mag. July, 1739. 9: 359-360.
50. This Tr. (2nd. ed. 1740) became the standard work on Longinus in the 18th century.

While the nation was buying the second edition of Smith's Iranslation , it might also buy Peck's New Memoirs of Milton and of Cromwell, both of which appeared in 1740. These works threw about Paradise Lost a sort of Miltonic atmosphere, and incidentally, if not intentionally, correlated the Poem with the liberal and progressive thought of the time. Consequent upon the quickened general interest in Paradise Lost, the public was furnished in 1741 with a new Verbal Index to the poem. This was the fourth such work that had appeared. That by Hume(1695), and by Tickell (1720), have already been noticed. It was not noticed, however, that Richardson added a brief Index to his Notes in 1734.

No one can fail to feel the significant bearing of much of his work upon the growing, deepening, popularity of Paradise Lost with the unlearned masses of the nation. There were those who seemed to feel it the part of patriotism to place this national treasure within reach of all capacities. Certainly this was the inspiration that produced the Complete Commentory on Paradise Lost (1744). This volume was the work of Dr. James Paterson who undertook this task with abounding enthusiasm. He assured the Reader that "Milton's Paradise Lost, being an original in its kind, an Honour to the British Nation, and the prime Poem in the world, is justly esteemed and admired by every Englishman, and also by the Learned Abroad. But realizing the difficulties that confront his unlearned countrymen in the perusal of this masterpiece, the Doctor had copiously, even sympathetically, explained everything,[51] significantly adding that "without such

51. James Paterson(1 -1). The full title was A Complete Commentary with Etymological, Explanatory, Critical, and Classical Notes on Milton's P. L. Lond. 1744. pp 512.

a work the Poem is useless to most Readers of it." Evidently, then, the poem was coming into the possession of the masses, and one naturally wonders how much Paterson may have implied in that word " useless."

Another work, with something of the same popular designs, appeared in 1745. This was The State of Innocence and Fall of Man described in Milton's Paradise Lost Rendered into Prose --- by a Gentleman of Oxford.[52] The Monthly Review attacked the publication, along with the Rambler and other "pretenders to criticism of Milton," who represented "a critical barbarism" not less "destructive to learning" than "a second irruption of the Goths and Vaudals." The Review argued that this Paraphrastical Version" was unnecessary even for the unlearned, for whom the "obscure passages" of Paradise Lost had already been explained.[53] But the multiplied Editions of this prose work seem to show that there was still a place for the popularizing performance; which may have been read mainly as a treatise on some of the social, political and moral questions that were there confronting the nation.[54]

By the middle of the century there was full preparation already made for an extensive work on the part of a judicious critical editor. The feeling was strong that the choicest fruitage of these separate critical efforts should be carefully garnered into a new edition of Paradise Lost. Among those who felt moved by this spirit of the time, was Benjamin Stillingfleet, a lover of Milton, and an imitator of his sonnets (1702-71). In the later "forties" he was engaged upon a collection of Notes for an edition of Paradise Lost.[55] But this work

52. Geo. Smith Green (d.1768). This work was published, as it seems, under varying titles, in 1745, 1746? 1755, 1756, 1767, 1770(L), 1770? (Aberdeen).

was abandoned in view of an elaborate edition that was soon to appear from the press of Tonson and Draper.

That great work was the first variorum edition of Paradise Lost (May 20,1749), edited by the Rev. Thomas Newton, D.D.(1704-1782), which was indeed the first variorum edition of an English Classic. The Notes were compiled from the earlier critical works, and supplemented by original comments from Newton and others.[56] The work was generally applauded;[57] and in various modifications became the standard edition of Paradise Lost for the remiander of the eighteenth century.

After this almost every edition of the poem came to have some kind of helpful attachment. J. Callander furnished The First Book of Paradise Lost with a Commentary, for Foulis, in Glasgow, 1750. J. Marchant collected notes of various authors, including Newton, for Walker's two volume edition, in London, 1751. The Paris edition (1754) was furnished with a Glossary and Index, the former of which features appeared in the Dublin edition (1765). A. Donaldson added "prefatory characters of the several pieces" to the Poetical Works (1762). John Wood produced "a new edition" of Paradise Lost with notes variorum in 1765.

Meantime the Paradise Regained was not entirely neglected, though it was never highly exalted. Edward Phillips seems to have spoken the voice of all time, when he said that Paradise Regained was "generally censured to be much inferior to the other," Milton's jealousy notwithstanding.[58] In 1732 Richard

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52.(cont.)With it were the translated Notes of Raymond de St. Maur, and fourteen copperplates. See Gent. Mag. June, 1746. 16:332; Cr. Rev. Nov.,1756. 2:357. Green also wrote two unacted plays on Oliver Cromwell(1752).

53. Mo. Rev. Dec.,1756. 15: 653.

Meadowcourt(1697-1769) published A Critique of Milton's Paradise Regained. This work, which seems to have become the recognized standard commentary on the smaller epic, appeared in a second edition(1743). In 1734. Jortin claimed that the poem had "not met with the approbation that it deserves;" and Warburton regarded this poem and Samson as perfect of their kind.[59] But the poem was never satisfactory to the readers of the major epic.[60] The best of all these materials, with original matter, was collected into Newton's Edition of the Poem(1752), which, with the Minor Poems, completed his popular Edition of Milton's Poetical works.

That these popularizing endeavors were effective is evident in the popular reaction to Milton's Epic . Familiarity with Adam and Eve was a public nerve upon which the book-trade constantly played in the invention of new titiles.[61] It became a requirement, that one must be familiar with these exalted personages, or at least affect that familiarity, as a matter of fashion. Gray declared "The world ---- obliged by fashion to admire" Milton.[62] The young gallant, called suddenly away from his lady-love in a flower garden, must apologetically declare "himself in a worse situation than Adam banished Paradise," and then

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54. To this list of commentaries must be added the New Remarks on P.L. in R. Richardson's Zoilomastix (1747); and in the Critical Obs. on Sh., by John Upton, editor of Spenser(1758), who in his second Ed (1746), devoted a whole page of the Index to Milton,and all to P.L., except 3 references to Samson, and 1 to the Sonnets.
55. Stillingfleet used a copy of Bentley's original edition (1732), which is now in the Br. Mus., and has "copious MS notes" by the original owner.
56. Among the noted contributors to this work, was Robert Thyer (1709?1781), who edited Butler's Remains (1759).
57. For some reason, the work did not commend itself to Thomas Edwards, who blamed "the great people" for the success of this"bad edition." Richardson's Correspondence, III. 11,24. March 30, and May 8, 1751.

state the reasons in a sonnet.[63] Even Lord Chesterfield(1694-1773), who affected an inability to "read Milton through," dared not let this secret be known in England.[64]

In popular writings, Milton was the common possession of all readers. Paradise Lost was quoted, as with the sanction of inspiration, on the sacred and ideal relations of husband and wife.[65] It was cited as having superior scientific insight into Pleasure and Pain,[66] and as an authority in the field of Astronomy.[67] The Smugglers in Essex were compared to Adam's "Death's Ministers, not men;"[68] The war "apparatus" of The British Mars,[69] to the military equipment of Milton's warring angels; while an Allegory on Wit and Beauty carried the reader at once to the "myrtle bower" of Eden.[70] "Flirtilla" began her Vision

58. Edw. Phillips, Letters of State, 1694. p. xxxix. Masson, 6:655. Cr. Rev. Feb., 1761. 11:166.
59. Both quoted by Birch, Milton (1738), I. p. lvi.
60. Cf. An Essay on M's Im. of the Ancs. in his P.L. With some Obs. on the P. Rgnd. L. 1741. Mo. Rev. Aug,1763. 29: 106-117.
61. Adam's Luxury, and Eve's Cookery; or, The Kitchen Garden Displayed. (Gent. Mag. May, 1744. 14:[illegible]). Cf. also the religious titles in Appendix G, especially paragraph 4.
62. Letter to Thomas Wharton. Oct. 7, 1757. Works(Gosse, 1884). II, 341, and 325. The same statement was made in the Mo. Rev. July, 1762. 27: 13. cf. also Johnson's Life of Milton (Hill). I. 163.
63. Sonnet. Occasioned by leaving B--x---n, July 1755. Probably by Dr. Powis. Pearch, Con. 1783. 3:298. 299.
64. Letters. ed. 1893. II. 559."Bath, Oct. 4, 1752." To Mr. S. at Berlin. (Letter lxxi).
65. On Nuptial Liberty. Univ. Spec. Dec.18, 1731. No. 167. Cf. also The Gent. Mag. June, 1738. 8. 298.
66. The Champion, Jan. 19, 1740. 1: 200. The Gleaner, 1811. No. 45. p. 394-400.
67. Thos. Wright (1711-1786). An Original Theory or New Hypothesis of the Universe, founded on the Laws of Nature. 84 pp. 1750? See Mo. Rev. July, 1750. 3:216-219.
68. Gent. Mag. Sept, 1748. 18: 407. P.L. XI. 676.
69. Joseph Robson. The British Mars. Mo. Rev. May, 1764. 30:399-06.
70. The Student (1750). I. 351. The Gleaner, 1811. II. 22.

while reading Milton's Pandemonium;[71] John Armstrong emulated Milton's omniscience in The History of Minorca;[72] (1752); and The Author of Two Epistles on Happiness(1754) found it prudent to mark the lines imitated from Milton.[73] A few years later, William Law (1686-1761), who praised "The immortal words of a Milton or a Shakespeare," regarded the prevalence of Paradise Lost in the pulpits of the time with a measure of disapproval. In his Humble Address to the Clergy (1761), he said:

> "Instead of the Depth, the Truth and Spirit of the humble Publican, seeking to regain Paradise, only by a broken Heart, crying "God be merciful to me a Sinner,' the high-bred Classic will live in daily Transports at the enormous sublime of a Milton, flying thither, on the *un-*feathered wings of high sounding Words." 74

This familiar devotion to Milton was remarkable as a fact of literary history. It gathered irresistible force as the decades went by. Against it some had attempted to oppose the uncertain religious attitude of Milton, which gave rise to a spirited controversy, triumphant of cause in favor of the great English poet.[75] But a more formidable attempt to check this popularity gave rise to another controversy, whose spirit of defense is a monumental tribute to the hold of Milton's Paradise Lost upon the mind and heart of the mid-century English people.

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71. The Student (1751). II. 381. The Gleaner (1811). No.66. II. 121-7.
72. Mo. Rev. Aug. and Sept, 1752. 7:155-160, 205-224.
73. Mo. Rev. Oct. 1754. 11: 309-312.
74. Wm. Law (1686-1761). Wks. London 1762, reprinted 1893. 9 vols. Vol. ix. pp. 48, 53. (P.L. v. 297). Qoted in Mo. Rev. Dec.,1761. 25: 419. Perhaps this part of the Serious Call was never very effective. Cf. The sermon on The Temptation, by Edward Irving(1792-1834), which makes free use of both Milton's Epics, and exalts him as "the great and venerable Master of English song." The Collected Writings, edited by the Rev. G. Carlyle. Vol.II. 186-247.
75. Religious Controversy. Appendix E .

In terms of that spirit there was one man in England who, Satan-like,

> "On the Tree of Life,
> .....
> Sat like a Cormorant.....
> ..... devising death....

This arch-deceiver, and

> Artificer of fraud.....
> That practised falsehood under saintly shew,
> Deep malice to conceal, couched with revenge,

was the Rev. William Lauder.(d.1771), who "with jealous leer malign, eyed askance" the deepening popularity of Milton as a "Sight hateful, sight tormenting."[76]

This Lauder attempted to ruin the high reputation of Milton. The attack was made in 1747. The motive was largely a matter of malice and personal revenge for the treatment accorded certain of Lauder's earlier publications. If the Bentley Controversy was a storm, this Lauder affair was a cyclone. First the Nation was startled: then it soberly reflected; and then it wreaked a terrible revenge upon this Forger for insulting the name of the beloved Milton.

The visible interest of Lauder in Milton dates back at least to 1732, when he translated A Poem of Hugo Grotious on the Sacrament into English blank verse.[77] In 1739 Lauder, as was

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76. P.L. IV. 194-7, 121-3, 503-5.
77. The Christ's Passion of Grotius was Translated, in 1639, by Geo. Sandys(1578-1644). This was a kind of academic bible play, in line with Peele's David and Bethsabe (1599), and Samson Agonistes (1671). Schelling, His. Eng. Dra. II, 304. Milton's political writings were associated with those of Grotius, by Sir Robert Filmer, in his Obs. concerning the Original of Government upon Mr. Hobs's Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, H. Grotius De Jure Belli., London, 1652.

afterwards pointed out, gave Milton "a character as high and honorable as ever was bestowed upon him by the most sanguine of his admirers."[73] Very soon, however, Lauder appeared to be very much enraged against Milton and all his admirers. In 1741 there appeared, anonymously, An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients. This probably gave Lauder a suggestion for his attack. A further suggestion may have occured in the following circumstance. In October, 1746, the Gentleman's Magazine proposed to print The Beginning of Paradise Lost, with six Latin Translations. Three of these (by Ludovicus de Bonneval, M.B(old), and T. P.) were printed in October, and two of them (by J. C., and J. Trapp, D.D.), in December. The sixth, which probably would have been that by William Hog, was not printed.[79] This may have suggested the materials for Lauder's malicious pen.

At any rate, in January, 1747, he published the first draft of An Essay on Milton's Imitation of the Moderns. (17:24-6). In this Essay he startled the Nation, by attempting to show "that Milton's Paradise Lost was largely constructed of plagiaristic parahprases of a Latin poem, entitled Sarcotis, by Jacobus Masenius (1654)." The lovers of Milton rallied to his defence, and the war of words was waged largely through the columns of the Gentleman's Magazine.

Apprehending that this Essay would"excite no little speculation," the editor of the Magazine, Edward Cave, requested Lauder to send "a close version of the lines which are said therein to have furnished sentiment to Milton." (17:24). In the next issue, "A. A." requested "specimens from these authors," and expressed himself as impatiently waiting the sequel.(Feb. 17:52).

Lauder, who was signing only his initials "W.L.", replied to Cave, promising a Pamphlet (17: 88). He also continued his Essay, giving long extracts from Adamus Exsul, by Hugo Grotius (17:88-6). Miltonicus, however, had less patience. He demanded that "W. L." show "tolerable reasons for what he advances; but till he does that he must not be surprised if an English reader proves somewhat resty in giving up his opinion of Milton's genius and fancy." Miltonicus doubted that Milton ever saw Casenius, and believed Milton in no wise conditioned upon such a performance.(17:67-68). With this Letter, the editor declared several other gentlemen to be in agreement (17:68). Because of the wide general interest in this controversy, Cave offered a prize for the best Translation of Adamus Exsul, Act I, in Miltonic verse, sent in before May-Day.[80] Evidently the English people were well stirred. The materials contributed for the March Issue were more than could be handled. Most of them had to be excluded because of "long seasonable pieces." But there was a place found for the following seasonable lines On W. L.'s Charge against Milton (March, 17:145), by Philo-Milton Petriburgensis:

> Critics avant! from sacrilege refrain,
> Nor Milton's laurels with rude hands profane;
> In vain Detraction seeks to wound his fame,
> Whose lays divine our adoration claim ;
> By no pierian draught inspired to sing,
> Raptured he drank at sacred Wisdom's spring;
> Not Time's approach his deathless numbers fear,
> Bright and more bright thro' each revolving year:
> In paths unknown, untried, alone he trod,
> Of man the teacher, and the bard of God.

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78. Johnson's Wks. 1825. V. 259n.
79. Gent. Mag. Oct.,1746. 16: 548-9, Dec. 16: 661. The following references, unless otherwise designated, are to this Magazine.
80. The prize was to be Two folio vols of Du Halde's Hist. of China or two guineas in money (17:86). In June, Cave announced 13 translations. This plan was to have been extended to other Acts of the Drama.

By April, "W. L." had sent to Cave "several extracts from the Rev. Mr. Andrew Ramsay's Poemata Sacra, printed in Edinburgh, 1733, " and claimed that Milton borrowed from these his encomium on marriage, and other things, which were promised in full in a later pamphlet. It was also promised that the Adamus Exsul and the Works of Masenius should be made public (17: 189). "G. S." was grateful for these discoveries (May. 17:211-2), and indulged in a blank verse translation of the Description of Paradise (from Jan., p.25), one of Lauder's favorite passages. The thirteen prize Translations were printed June (Note 30 above). "W. B." applauded this work of Lauder, as likely to destroy the "superstitious opinions" respecting Milton's exalted performance, "and not diminish his reasonable regard." The discoveries were held only to show how one genius builds upon another in a process of perfection. (17:278-9). He suggested that this borrowing may account for the inferiority of Paradise Regained. "W. L." was encouraged to send "a few more passages, amongst innumerable others, from Grotius, with parallel ones from Milton."(17: 285-6).

On July 21, Richard Richardson published his Milton no Imitator of Masenius. He commended Lauder for declining the promised pamphlet, attempted to show that Paradise Lost was begun before Masenius's poem was printed, denied the likeness of many so called parallels, and explained the real similarities by referring both to the influence of Homer (17: 322-324). The next Issue contained a spirited reply from Lauder, signed by his full name, in which he proposed to publish the Adamus Exsul, with an English version and notes, showing what Milton had used(17:404

30(Cont.) From these Trs. a composite Tr. was made, and printed, Feb. 1740. (19:67-69).

The second lot of Adamus Exsul was being printed in the magazine. Lauder was confident. The public was perplexed. Feeling ran high, and some poured forth the Nation's resentment in verse.[81]

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81. "Y". On Some Late Attempts To Depreciate Milton. Gent. Mag. Lond., 1747. 17: [illegible].

To toil for fame asks all the poet's pains:
And yet how barren is the wreath he gains!
Thus Milton, scarce distinguished, bow'd to fate,
And the dear-purchas'd laurel came too late!
Yet in the grave that laurel found its root,
And flourish'd high, and bore immortal fruit.
His Muse a thousand imitators fir'd,
His Muse by distant nations lov'd, admir'd,
In her all Homer's - Virgil's beauties shone,
And Britain call'd the nastermiece her own.
With pedant zeal, a modern Davius cries,
"Milton a genius! - how ridiculous!
From foreign shores his boasted plans he drew,
With borrow'd wings, like Icarus, he flew!
Like sly Prometheus stole the heav'nly ray,
That made his man, and warm'd the living clay:
Too long the wretch has fill'd the throne of fame,
Unjust ursurper! with a spurious claim!
Not his, the sacred page the boaster writ,
A Jesuit* taught him art, a Dutchman** wit;
My pen the shameful plagiary shall show,
And blast the bays that bind his guilty brow!"

Enervate critic! - cease thy fruitless rage,
Nor touch with impious hands the hallow'd page!
Bury'd a-new in learning's rev'rend dust,
Let good Masenius unmolested rust;
Let Grotius the Civilian's honour boast,
But as a Poet - let his name be lost!
These were like swallows, when the skies are clear
Who skim the earth and rise to disappear!
Like Jove's own bird, our Milton took his flight
To worlds unknown, and pierced the realms of light;
Tho' heav'n, all-wise, corporeal light deny'd;
Internal day the lesser loss supply'd;
Disdaining succour, and obliged to none
His genius beam'd expansive like the sun:
And till that glorious orb shall cease to shine,
Till sick'ning nature feel her last decline,
Truth shall preserve great Milton's honour'd page.
From Time's encroachment, and from Envy's rage;
Shall blast all vain attempts to wound his fame,
And with new glories grace his honour'd name.

*Masenius. **Grotius.

Cave, who was to take the subscription for Lauder's edition of the Adamus Exsul introduced him to Dr. Johnson, who immediately became interested in the new discoveries. But this edition was abandoned in order that Lauder might perfect a new edition of his Essay on Milton's Imitation of the Moderns. As a substitute for the Adamus, perhaps, Lauder proposed (... .17:539) to make, by translation and expurgation, a Latin school-book from Paradise Lost.

Meantime the interest deepened, not without suspicion of Lauder's integrity. "C. B." published a spirited Vindication of Milton (Sept.). He admired the general impartial attitude of Cave, but could easily wish that Lauder had been more roughly handled. He also suspected the secrecy of Lauder's MSS., and charged him with a spirit of envy (17:423-4). This charge was made in verse by "W. K.," in November (17:538). ~~The~~ Philo-Miltonus (Oct. 19) contributed a defence of Milton against Lauder's reply to "R. R." (in July), styled Lauder 'Malepertius', and charged him with a manifestly dishonest design to ruin the character of Milton. This contribution was not published until February (18: 67-8). In November, R. Richardson published his Zoilomastix: or a Vindication of Milton from the Charges of W. Lauder (London. 8°). He was confident that Lauder was guilty of malicious mischief. An English Translation of the speech of Satan in Masenius was sent to Cave from Louvain (Nov., 'Contents'), and was published in December, over the name of J. Berington, who declared this question one that "concerned the whole nation."(17:567)

Not so much was published in 1748 and 1749. In January, 1748, Peter Whalley was quoted (18: 25, 114)

as considering Lauder's charges against Milton extreme, if not indeed ridiculous.[33] Furius; or, a modest attempt towards the history of the

(next page)

33. An Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare.

famous W.L., critic and thief-catcher, with respect to Milton, appeared in August. "This was a strong invective against Lauder, but allows him to be a great Latinist." (18:384). Among the best contributions of its kind was a piece of ingenious work in verse by John Byrom (1692-1763). The piece is entitled "Verses, Intended To Have Been Spoken At The Breaking Up of the Free Grammar-School in Manchester, in the year 1748, When Lauder's Charges of Plagiarism Upon Milton Engaged the Public Attention."[83] The Master of the School, in a poetic address, laid the question before the house. The seven "Lads" successively responded in their poetic Deferences of Milton. The situation is very well handled, and as an expression of popular contempt for Lauder the piece is superb.

But the comparative silence of 1748 and most of the following year was only a temporary cessation of hostilities. The public was still perplexed. The scholars were busy. Late in 1749 the conflict was openly renewed. The trumpet call to arms was the announcement, in December, of An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost. Lauder had made out his charges in completed form, and had them "elegantly printed." On his title-page he placed the words, "Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme," which sound in this connection like a defiance of Fate. The Essay had additional weight in this new form from the fact that Dr. Johnson wrote the Preface, and probably had a hand in the Postscript, which gave considerable attention to the Milton Family.[84]

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83. John Byron(1692-1763). Chalmers, Eng. Bts. 15: 209-210.

84. Johnson's Works. 1825. v. 244-248. See Gent.Mag. Dec, 1749. 19: 563. A strong appeal is made in this Lauder Essay publication, and an advertisement for subscriptions is added, in behalf of Mrs. Eliz. Foster, Milton's Granddaughter. See appendix. I

The Monthly Review merely announced the publication, with a favorable comment on the English Translation (Jan., p.[illegible]). But the Gentleman's Magazine gave two ironical reviews of the Essay (20:53-4, 155-7), which were filled with indignation. J. Kirkpatrick, in the Preface to his Sea-Piece (Jan., 1750), fell "heavily on the late charge of Plagiarism, brought against the renowned Milton." He thought "there is something not merely little, but even absurd and immoral in this injustice to the memory of that sublime author."[85]

Feeling was intense, but no one was getting at a settlement of the matter. Hermolaus Barbarus suggested that the whole tribe of poets from Homer on down may have borrowed from Milton (20:284), the small question of chronology being unimportant. Some friend of Lauder contributed 40 lines of verse, exalting him as the champion of Truth, standing for argument, without fear of praise or blame(20:231). Lauder was still confident, and published a small volume of Latin Poems, in which he quoted eighteen poets supposed to have been used by Milton. Dr. Johnson was actively concerned in this publication, and the public was filled with excitement. The accuracy of these quotations was suspected; and Lauder threatened to publish the poems in four volumes (20:336). This proposal called forth Verses, praising the enterprise (20:422). Lauder's charge was reduced to a mere complaint that Milton did not make foot-note references to his sources. It was also suggested that Lauder make a similar attack upon Spenser who was growing too popular of late. "J. M." compared Milton's use of

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85. The Sea-Piece: a Poem. London. 1750. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1750. Art. xciv.

German authors to the extracting of sunbeams from cucumbers (20:245). Such out-bursts of feeling, though significant, did not solve the situation.

But the end was near at hand. In June (1750), "C. R.", with the prophetic solemnity of Daniel before Belshazzar, confidently affirmed that Lauder should suffer for this insolence (Dan.5:25-31). This warning was happily seconded by "L. M.", who compared Lauder to Bentley in this respect (20:259-9, 269). Already the mills of Fate were grinding. Warburton declared Lauder's Essay a "most knavish book."[86] In January of this year, R. Richardson had informed the booksellers that the passages cited by Lauder were not in the MSS of the poems, but Cave thought that there was some mistake, and did not publish the Letter until December. John Bowle (1725-1788) had also noted these facts. About the middle of November, John Douglas, Bishop of Salsibury, (1721-1807), published his Milton Vindicated from Lauder's Charge of Plagiarism, and Lauder detected of Forgery. In announcing this revelation, even the impartial Cave could not refrain from adding that Lauder had "admitted the charge." (20:528). Douglas showed that Lauder had interpolated passages of W. Hog's Translation of Milton (1690) in the other poems, and then had cited those passages as Milton's sources. That was all.

But that was enough. Dr. Johnson compelled Lauder to acknowledge his crime, and dictated for him (Dec.20) an apology in A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Douglas, Occasioned by his Vindication of Milton. (pub. 1751).[87] Lauder added some matters,

86. Nichol's Lit. Illus. II, 177.

attempting to explain the whole affair as a practical joke, aimed at the blind worshippers of Milton. But the explanation was not accepted. Already the booksellers had disowned him, and brought out an edition of his Essay "as a curiosity of fraud and interpolation." (20:555-6). Lauder was ruined. He hung about England for a time, published some Latin works(1753), and his Vindication of King Charles 1. (1754). In the latter publication, he severely abused Milton, Douglas, and Johnson. A Review said that he seemed "absolutely to have declared war against all decency, and even common-sense."[88] After a time he left England, and died in disgrace(1771).[89]

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87. Johnson's Works, 1825. v. 249-271. Johnson was exonerated in the eyes of the public. One wonders if this affair was the cause of his early paper on Repentance, which he closed with six lines from P.L. x. 1087-92. (Ram (Rambler 110, April 6, 1751. Wks. 1825. 1:518). The Nation forgave the Doctor, but did not soon forget his connection with the affair. Arthur Murphy(1727-1805) lamented this fact, in his Essay on the Life & Genius of S. Johnson (1792). Nathan Drake(1766-1836) considered this "the most extraordinary literary imposture that the world ever witnessed," and Johnson's connection therewith "the most unfortunate occurence of his life." (Lit. Life of Dr.Johnson. Essays, Biog., Crit., Hist. 1809. 4: 315-328).

88. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1754. 10: 145-6.

89. Lauder's name became a term of scorn and a by-word in literature. Robert Lloyd wrote his Progress of Envy, as an expression of indignation agst Lauder(1751), Trib. 94. Verses Occd by Mr. Warburton's Late Ed of Mr. Pope's Works(1751) would like to sentence this editor "to study epic under Lauder." "S.S.S." versified the comparison between The Bee and Milton Convicted of Stealing (Gent. Mag. Nov. 1752. 22:529). Furius(p.222above), probably the work of Mr. Henderson, a bookseller, was printed, with changes appropriate to the "Thief-catcher, who has so eminently distinguished himself by his laudable attack on the great Milton." (Mo.Rev.Apr.1754, end). The Gent. Mag. completed its original plan of printing the Latin Trs. of the opening of P.L., using that of Hog, of Dobson, and a new one contributed for this purpose. (20:Dec,1750). A new edition of Masenius "for the satisfaction of the curious" was pub'd 1754.
The Life of Hugo Grotius appeared the same year. Milton no Plagiary, was reprinted in 1756. Hollis made a summary

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One good arising from this affair was the sanity that it contributed to Miltonic interests. After all Paradise Lost did not fall from the Heavens, nor was Milton without his literary relationships. The Nation needed its feet once more placed on solid ground as to these matters. Furthermore, the effect of the whole stir was to stimulate the general interest in Milton. This whole controversey was a great study in the probable sources of Milton's great work. Lauder inaugrated the business with a summary of what had been done in this particular field of study. The contributions that he made were not inconsiderable, and the stimulation that he gave in this direction lasted throughout the century.

Meantime other lines of interest were also quickened. The re-actions to this controversey naturally followed certain definite lines. The defeat of Lauder left Milton, in the national confidence, high and unassailable. More calmly then the Nation became interested in Milton's sources,-- a line of study which broadened into the translation, publication, and popularity of kindred literary products of other times and other lands.[90] This widening interest probably exercised an influence, not yet realized, upon certain literary revivals connected with the Romantic Movement. There was another impulse which led to a re-assertion and amplification, for the multiplied readers of Milton, of his intrensic literary values. A third line of interest arose as a result of all these circumstances. Having become the familiar possession of all the nation, Paradise Lost was used as the most familiar source of illustrative materials available for a vast

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89.(cont.)of the Lauder outrage upon Milton, in his edition of Toland's Life of Milton (1761, p. 126n). Nor was Dr. Douglas forgotten. (cont.)

range of discussions.

In the words of Goldsmith, "the subject of Paradise Lost (was) reverenced withalmost universal assent." The nation would"purchase a warranted original copy of the worst verses Milton ever wrote, at ten times the price which the original copy of the Paradise Lost brought him."[91] Such enthusiastic confidence was connected closely, perhaps, with the solid merits of Milton, emphasized as a result of the Lauder controversey. It seemed to be the ambition of criticism to make those merits understood ~~more~~ as never before. It is interesting to observe how much of this criticism indulged in psychology, attempting to unfold the mind of Milton, and of his various characters.

While the Lauder controversey was still raging, John Hughes published the Works of Spencer (1750) with An Essay on Allegorical Poetry. He closely correlated the minds of Spenser and Milton, in order, it seems, to exalt the latter's "exquisite fancy *and* skill" in the use of Allegory.[92] Dr. Johnson, after the manner of Addison, attempted (1751) a series of Rambler Papers in Criticism of Milton's Versification. Naturally enough, these papers condemned some things essential to effective blank verse, and Milton's general indifference to embellishment, and regarded Milton's verse as an unsuccessful imitation of Homer and Virgil.[93] The general question of Imitation came in for extended discussion at the hands of Richard Hurd, in his Discourse on that

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89.(cont.)In Goldsmith's Retaliation, and in the Supplement thereto, Douglas figures conspicuously in his detective capacity(1774). (Chamer. ,Eng.Pts. 16:499-501. Cont. Mag. Aug.1773)

90. Appendix F.

91. Wks.(J.W.Gibbs),iv. 299, 362. Review of The Poigoniad. Mo. Rev. Sept, 1757.

92. The Wks. of Spenser. 6 vols. L., 1750. I. pp. xxi-xxii,&c.

subject (1751). He found Milton's larger interests and successes to arise from his success in drawing upon "the genuine treasures of nature," which are the common property of the Ancients.[94]

Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) discussed with Lady Bradshaigh (1758), at some length, the probable motive which Milton attributed to Eve in her temptation of Adam.[95] Joseph Warton, who became, at the request of Johnson, a contributor to The Adventurer in 1753,[96] wrote a popular paper for that periodical on Blemishes in the Paradise Lost, which gave a total impression more of praise than of blame.[97] The "Night Pieces" of Milton

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93. Rambler Nos. 86, 88, 90, 92, 96. On Sats. between Jan. 12, and Feb. 9, 1751. The Wks. 1825. I. 398-442.

94. Hurd's Discourse upon Imitation (1751) was appended to his ed. of Horace(1753) as a Dissertation on Poetical Imitation. (Mo. Rev. Feb.,1758. 18:114-125). He handled two questions. (1) "Whether what we commonly take for for Imitations may not, with probability enough, for the most part, be accounted for from general causes." (2) "Whether , in the case of confessed imitations, any certain and necessary conclusions holds to the disadvantage of the natural Genius of the imitator." He felt that Milton needed not to imitate, but was able to draw, with the ancients, upon the original treasures of nature.

95. Richardson's Correspndence vi. 214-225. Nov., 1752.

96. Johnson's Letters (March 8, 1753). Boswell's Life(Hill) I, 253. Warton wrote 24 papers.

97. The Adventurer. Oct.23, 1753. Brit. Es. 1823. 101,vol. 21.

Warton regarded the description of Eden(Bk.4), and the battle of the angels(Bk.6)too much of the land of romance to have "relative beauty as pictures of nature." "I think the sublimity of this genius much more visible in the first appearance of the fallen angels; the debates of the infernal peers; the passage of Satan through the dominion of Chaos and his adventure with Sin and Death; the mission of Raphael to Adam; the conversations between Adam and his wife; the creation; the account which Adam gives of his first sensations, and of the approach of Eve from the hand of her Creator; the whole behavior of Adam and Eve after their first transgression; and the prospect of the various states of the world, and history of man exhibited in a vision to Adam."

He censured Milton's inconsistency respecting Adam's ignorance at various times; his failure to

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(Paradise Lost IV), Homer, and Shakespeare, were compared, and correlated with the writings of Young and Collins.[98] Jonathan Swift (d 1783) devoted a section to Milton: (1755)[99] and Thomas Warton laid considerable emphasis upon the values of Milton and their relations to popular taste,[100] and took Dryden severely to task for wanting "a just idea of Milton's greatness."

Two unique productions in criticism appeared in the sixth decade of the century, one favorable, the other unfavorable, to Milton. The first of these was Joseph Warton's Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope (1756); which, because of its constant comparisons, was almost as much an "Essay on Paradise Lost." This Essay was a very pronounced attack upon the pseudo-classical school of poets, and did much to identify clearly and definitely the multiplied Miltonic interests with the advancing sentiments of Romanticism.

> Warton held that "our English poets may be disposed in four different classes and degrees." (1) Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, and at some distance Otway and Lee. (2) Dryden, Donne, Denham, Cowley, Congreve. (3) Those characterized by wit and elegance of taste, Prior, Parnel, Swift, Fenton. (4). The mere versifiers, Pitt, Sandys, Fairfax, Brown, Buckingham, Lansdown. His problem was then to place Pope in this classification. Every one of these classes, except the first, was attacked by the critic of this work. 101
>
> Warton regarded sublimity and the pathetic essential to great poetry. He extoled blank verse and exalted Milton above Pope in respect to the passions. He believed the Italian models of Shakespeare and Milton superior to the French models, and regarded the Paradise Lost as better than Voltaire's Henriade. He finally consented to allow Pope "a place next to Milton, and just above Dryden." Warton's second volume did not appear until 1782. Meantime there

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97. describe elaborately the Tree of Life; his failure to satisfy expectations of a battle between Satan and the guardian angel (iv.end); ~~(Continued~~,
"Among innumerable beauties," Warton thought, "the most transcendent is the speech of Satan at the beginning of the 9th book," (omitted by Addison.).

had appeared, from the pen of Percival Stockdale, AN ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND GENUINE LAWS OF POETRY; including a particular Defence of the Writings, and Genius of Mr. Pope.(1778). This was recognized at once as a reply to Dr. Warton. The Doctor had affirmed that no "process of critical chemistry" could reduce a passage of Paradise Lost to the low levels of tameless prose. Among other things, Stockdale attempted to prove the contrary by a prose rendering of certain passages of Milton, which were claimed thereby to lose their force and beauty. Of course all this controversey furnished materials for popular entertainment in contemporary criticism. 102

The other curious product of the critic's art suggests, in several respects, a re-action against these views of Warton. The work is known in history as The Poetical Scale (1758), and was probably the work of Goldsmith.[103] The Scale was not in itself very much adverse to Milton.[104] Nor was the author's conception of versification wanting in truth and liberality.[105]

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98. John Gilbert Cooper(1723-1769). Letters on Taste (Letter vii). ed. 1755. This work was praised by Johnson. Cf. also a Review of Letters on Taste, in the Mo. Rev. Jan, 1762. 26:13, where Milton and Shakespeare are"beyond any of their modern rivals" in ability to portray the human heart, and to describe "every object in nature."
99. Essay on the Life, Writings, and Character of Jonathan Swift (1755). Section xv.
100. Obs.on the Fairy Queene of Spenser (1754). vol.II, Section x. 107-8. This was quoted in the Cr. Rev. Sept., 1763. 16:225.
101. Mo. Rev. June, 1756. 14: 528-554. July, 15: 52-78.
102. Cr. Rev. Feb, 1782. 55: 97-108. Aug, 1778. 46: 120-4.
103. Published in The Lit. Mag., Jan., 1758. Wks. of O-G-(J.W.M.Gibbs), iv. 417-428. The invention of the poetical scale was, however, attributed by J. Debrett(d.1822) to Akenside. Debrett printed two imitations of this Scale; Scale of Modern Beauty, and Scale of Modern Talent (both 1792). In the latter, Burke, Sheridan, Cowper, and Tickell were highest among 32. (An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces, 1795. 4: 70-72.)

But the Miscellaneous Thoughts on English Poets, which formed the Sequel to the numerical part, was not so favorable. This Sequel is concerned almost entirely with the comparison of Milton as a poet (on the basis of Paradise Lost) with Shakespeare. The criticism of Milton was delivered in the same severe spirit of political animosity as that which characterized the later Life of Milton by Dr. Johnson.[106] Naturally enough, therefore, this Scale was

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104. The Poetical Scale (1758).

The idea of the Scale is to grade the poets on a basis of 20 as perfect, under the four heads of Genius, Judgment, Learning, and Versification.

		Genius	Judgment	Learning	Versification
Chaucer	(1340-1400)	16	12	10	14
Spenser	(1552-1599)	18	12	14	18
Drayton	(1563-1631)	10	11	16	13
Shakespeare	(1564-1616)	19	14	14	12
Johnson(B?)	(1573-1637)	16	13	17	9
Cowley	(1618-1667)	17	17	15	17
Waller	(1618-1687)	13	12	10	16
Fairfax	(-1635)	12	12	14	13
Otway	1653-1685)	17	10	10	17
Milton	(1608-1674)	18	16	17	18
Lee	(1653-1692)	16	10	10	15
Dryden	(1631-1700)	18	16	17	18
Congreve	(1673-1729)	15	16	14	14
Vanbrugh	(1664-1726)	14	15	14	10
Steele	(1672-1729)	10	15	13	10
Addison	(1672-1719)	16	18	17	17
Prior	(1664-1721)	16	16	15	17
Swift	(1667-1745)	13	16	16	16
Pope	(1688-1744)	18	18	15	19
Thomson	(1700-1748)	16	16	14	17
Gay	(1685-1732)	14	16	14	16
Butler	1612-1680)	17	16	14	16
Beau-Fletch		14	13	16	12
Hill	(1684-1750)	16	12	13	17
Rowe	(1673-1718)	14	16	15	16
Farquhar	(1678-1707)	15	16	10	10
Garth	(1660-1718)	16	16	12	16
Southern	(1660-1741)	15	15	11	14
Hughes	(1677-1720)	15	16	13	16

105. "Versification is not only that harmony of numbers which renders a composition, whether in rhyme or blank verse, agreeable to the ear, but a just connection between the expression and the sentiment, resulting entirely from the energy of the latter, and so hapily adapted that they seem created for that very purpose, and not to be altered but for the worse."

afterwards attributed to that eminent biographer, as a part of his "deliberate malice."[107]

An attempt to advance liberalism at the expense of pseudo-classical views, applauded by contemporary criticism, was made in the very popular Dialogues of the Dead (1760), by Geo. Lord Lyttelton(1709-1773), whose sympathies with Milton were strong and various. In Dialogue XIV, he had Pope and Boileau to discuss the "Epick Poet Milton." Boileau was represented as confident that Longinus would have preferred Milton to Homer on the grounds of sublimity. Pope replied: "The bright and excessive blaze of poetical fire, which shines in so many parts of Paradise Lost, will hardly permit the dazzled eye to see its faults." Pope proposed to explain the early unpopularity of Paradise Lost on the grounds of politics; but Boileau considered that the Nation had made Milton good amends.[108]

After these Dialogues, there were two other popularizing performances in criticism. The next year (1761), William Massey published Remarks upon Milton's Paradise Lost, historical, geographical, critical, philological and explanatory. The work was severely censured as worthless, by the Monthly Review and praised for its public spirit by the Critical Review. Massey had printed separately Newton's Notes, for economy's sake, since

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106. If this is the work of Goldsmith, his spirit must have undergone a rapid change in respect to Milton. In the Memoirs of M. de Voltaire (1759), Goldsmith seems to cite with approval Voltaire's exaltation of Milton. Furthermore, he holds that the Henriade "sinks infinitely below Milton, yet it will be sufficient to give its author immortality." (Wks, ed. Gibbs. 4: 31-35). In The Citizen of the World (1762), Letter XL, Goldsmith praised blank verse very highly. Perhaps the real conviction of the author was indicated in Letter XIII of the Citizen of the World. Therein he found, in Poet's Corner in Westminister Abbey, Shakespeare, Milton, Prior, and Drayton. Drayton was

"Paradise Lost, in some form or other, is in most people's hands."[109] The other work was A Familiar Explanation of Milton, held to be of small value.[110] John Scott (17[illegible]-[illegible]), of Amwell, also prepared "strictures" on Milton and others sometime prior to 1776.[111]

This mid-century [illegible] transitional period gave considerable attention to certain lines of study that had a more or less direct bearing upon literature. The period was essentially one of preparation. The materials and dominant spirit of literature were not without serious consideration. Much of poetry itself rose little above the level of experimentation. The dictionary, the grammar, the formal treatise on composition, eloquence, and criticism, were typical products of the time. Perhaps the most discussed literary form was the epic. But opinion was unsettled. Half-formulated Romantic tendencies were rapidly undermining the strongholds of the classical faction. Among the few things about which there was little difference of opinion, was Milton's magnificence in Paradise Lost. Because of its many points of sympathetic contact, and its common familiarity, this poem entered into almost every

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106. (cont.) "never heard of before." The other three were allowed their places unquestioned. The discourse was concerned with Pope's absence. The author attributed this to a want of appreciation of his excellency, and to personal hate which obscured that excellence. (Wks. Murray, 1854. vol. II.).

107. Johnson denied any connection with this Scale. Jas. Prior, Life of O. Goldsmith. 1837. I, 233-234.

108. Misc. Wks, 1776. II, 196-7. The Dialogues were previously published in 1760, and 1765. Cf. Cr. Rev. May, 1760. 9: 390-3, and June, p. 494 (Mo. Cat. 20).

109. Mo. Rev. Appndx, 1761. 25: 497-8. Cr. Rev. May, 1762. 13: 433.

110. Rev. Wm. Dodd(1729-1777). "One half of the book at least is filled with Mr. Addison's Critique....a kind plagiarism much practised." Cr.Rev. May,1762. 13:433). "Alas! poor Milton! who knows but thou mayst yet be transformed into a Spelling-book!(Mo.Rev.June,1762. 26; 478).

111. Anderson, Brit. Poets. 11: 723.

form of thought, and fastened its hold more firmly upon the national mind, and heart, and life.

Even Dr. Johnson did not escape this permeating influence of Milton's Epic. In his Dictionary of the English Language (1755), which is itself remotely connected with the Romantic appeal to first principles, he drew 7.8 % of his literary illustrations from Milton.[112] The classical Burke illuminated his ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful (1756) from this same exalted source.[113] James Moor, discussing the influence of philosophy upon the Fine Arts, could find nothing better with which to compare the ideal beauty of morality as treated by Socrates and Euripides, than the grace and beauty of Milton's Eve.[114]

The Epic of Milton was guarded with zealous care. William Wilkie (1721-1772), whose Miltonic interests dated at least as far back as his student days, was taken to task for re-asserting some old views about Paradise Lost, He said "the machinery overshadowed the human characters, and that the heroes of the poem are all of the immortals." This he attempted to justify by references to the irregularity of the poem, and by

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112. Johnson drew from Shakespeare 15.6 %, Dryden 9.2 %, Milton 7.8 %, Addison 4.3 %, Pope 3.5 %, Spenser 2.9 %. This estimate is based upon an actual count of almost 10,000 consecutive examples. In this count the King James Bible would rank, perhaps, between Addison and Milton.

113. Burke quoted only P.L. and Allegro, and these in the ration of 4 to 1.

114. Jas. Moor. LL.D. (1712-1779). Essays; Read at a Literary Society. Essay I. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1760. 22: 107-118. P.L. 8: 482-9.

affirming it tragic in plot and epic in dress and machinery.[115] With consummate spirit, a French critic, for his contempt of "our Milton" as an epic poet, was branded with stupidity and ignorance.[116] Perhaps this resentment was what gave rise to the caution of A. Bedingfon (1760). "Some," he said, "have not scrupled to prefer Milton to the Grecian and Roman Bards; and whosoever at this time ventures to cast at his Paradise Lost, must whisper his criticism with caution."[117] The Art of Poetry on a New Plan, which introduced the method of mixing precepts with examples, condemned other poets as not worthy to appear as authorities with Milton, Dryden, Pope, Thomson, Akenside, &c.[118]

Lord Kames, in order to illustrate ten chapters in his Elements of Criticism (1762), drew more or less heavily upon "our incomparable Milton."[119] Daniel Webb (1719-1798), in his Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry (1762), and later in the Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music (1769), reveled in Paradise Lost; in the former, because of his own special bias for blank verse; and in the latter, because Milton had exhausted the ability of the English language to reach the sweetness of sound, or dignity of motion in the Greek measures.[120] Edward Watkinson allowed that "Exact propriety, just thoughts, correct elocution, polished numbers, may have been discerned in a thousand: but this poetical fire, this vivida vis animi, (found) in very few, in Milton, glows like a furnace, kept up to an uncommon

115. Preface to The Epigoniad (1757). Anderson, Br.Pts. vol. xi., pp.ix, xvii, 5. Answered in An Essay on the Epigoniad, wherein the Author's Abuse of Milton is examined. Edinburgh, 1757.

116. Tableaux tirés de l'Iliads, de l'Odyssee d'Homere, et de l'Eneide de Virigile; avec des observations generales sur le costume. Cr. Rev. Sept, 1757. 4: 267-284.

fervour, by the force of art." "When Milton appeared, the pride of Greece was humbled." "Our language sunk under Milton (unable to convey a just idea of the force and fire of his genius, the sublimity of his flights, and the strength of his imagination)."[121]

Hugh Blair (1718-1800), whose sympathies with the liberals in literature were rather pronounced, seemed to regard Paradise Lost as the very embodiment of that freedom essential to literary greatness. He said, "Milton has chalked out for himself a new and very extraordinary road in poetry..... The subject which he has chosen suited the daring sublimity of his genius. It was a subject for which Milton alone was fitted and in the conduct of it he has shown a stretch both of imagination and invention which is perfectly wonderful.... Milton's great and distinguishing excellence is his sublimity. In this he perhaps excells Homer. Milton possesses more of a calm and amazing grandeur."[122]

This note of independent individualism, the exaltation of genius above all laws, was even more definitely sounded in connection with Dr. Thos. Leland's Dissertation on the Principles of Human Eloquence (1764). It was stoutly affirmed, that the difference between Milton and Blackmore is not a matter

117. R. Hedington (d.1760). Dissertation on the Iliad of Homer (1759). Mo. Rev. Feb., 1760. 22:118-128.
118. Compiled by John Newbery (1713-1767). Revised by Goldsmith. Commended. Cr. Rev. May, 1762. 13: 429-430.
119. Henry Home (1696-1782). Ed. 1785. 2 vols. Edinburgh.
120. Cr. Rev. May, 1762. 13: 401-5. Mo. Rev. Nov., 1769. 41: 321-8.
121. An Essay on Criticism. This work was published in separate Parts, and received especially favorable notice in the Cr. Review, each Part being the first article in the issue in which it was reviewed. Part I (Jan, 1761); II (Mar., 1763); III (July, 1763); IV (Jan., 1764); V (July, 1764); VI (Jan., 1765).
122. Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. ed. 1814. sect. xliv, pp. 503-6. Cf. also Lectures ii, iii, iv, xvi, xl, xlii.

of principles, but of execution. "The fine arts have no rule but genius to direct them." Milton and Shakespeare were cited as proof that even antiquity may be excelled.[123]

From these last citations it will appear, that Milton has lost nothing of that high rank which he earlier enjoyed, and that he lacks nothing of being in the forefront of the rising opposition to the pseudo-classical school. It only remains to be shown that the interest in blank verse during this period was no less decisively in favor of popular acceptance and advancement.

Verse criticism, during this period, presented two rather distinct lines of discussion, both of which involved the metrical qualities of Milton. The one approached verse from the structural standpoint, and concerned itself mainly with the laws that govern the making of "good verses." The other approached the subject from the standpoint of poetic effect, and concerned itself mainly with the problems of how best effects may be obtained. This is about the same as saying, that one class of critics measured excellence by regard to poetic form; the other, by regard to poetic contents and effects.

The former of these classes of critics contended mainly for that kind of poetic excellence that was begun by Denham and Waller, improved by Dryden, and perfected by Pope. Probably "the sovereignty of the couplet was doomed" by 1766;[124]

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123. Thos. Deland, D.D. (1722-1785). A Dissertation. Cr. Rev. July, 1764. 18: 10-16. A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Deland. In which(his) Principles of Eloquence are criticised. Cr. Rev. Nov., 1764. 18: 321-331.

124. Phelps, The Beginnings of the Eng. Rom. Movement., p, 36.

but the force of its authority was long felt in the criticism which it inspired. True to the spirit of the pseudo-classical school, this class of critics began by laying down *a priori* definitions of what poetry, or verse, should be. They had no serious thought of any historical appeal for their conceptions, which were merely preconceived notions with only a measure of truth in them. Verse was this, or that, or something else, which meant usually that it was regular mathematical heroic measure, hightened into poetry by some special quality, as the affinity of the line with musical qualities. To these arbitrary conceptions all verse must conform, or else it was bad. Everywhere the structural basis of poetry was regularity. This, at least, is the case in the beginning of this period. But this structural basis is broadened, by recognition of poetic facts, until the two lines of criticism begin to meet in such critics as Kames and Webb (1762). It was this constant coming together of the two views that gave special significance to blank verse as the poetical vehicle of Romanticism.

To these formalists in the beginning of this period, belonged the work of "slashing Bentley," who murdered Milton in the person of a fabulous Editor. Only less barbarous was the criticism of Milton, that arose upon the appearance of Glover's *Leonidas* (1737). This poem was in blank verse, but monotonously "regular". Herein lay its excellence, as then viewed by some critics. An "old man," who placed his Homer next his Bible, and Virgil and Milton next his Homer, contributed a paper in praise of *Leonidas*. First of all, he was "surprised" that he could understand the language of the poem, "which, for a writer of blank verse, is a very unusual condescension to his readers."

But, more to the point here, he declared the versification of Glover superior to that of Milton - a statement for which Nathan Drake expressed his contempt by the addition of an exclamation point.[125]

But a more considerable contribution was that by Dr. Henry Pemberton (1694-1771), entitled, Observations on Poetry, especially Epic, occasioned by Leonidas (1753). He was possessed with the same spirit of formal excellence, fancied that he knew, ipse dixit, just what poetry ought to be; and, because Paradise Lost was not that, it must be condemned. This criticism gave rise in the same year to the popular papers by Samuel Say (1676 - 1743), published posthumously by William Duncombe (1745), in defence of Milton. With The Poems of Say, there were "Two Critical Essays," the first on Rhythm in General, and the second on the Rhythm of Paradise Lost. He turned to ridicule the criticisms of Bentley, and defended the variety and freedom of Milton as an excellence, in reply to the strictures of the "Leonidas group". The preceding year (1744), James Harris (1709-1780). insisted that poetry had a charm, "arising from its numbers only." This he illustrated from Paradise Lost , where he found also the "few pure iambics of the syllabic sort" in the English language. He also praised the Companion Poems, and regarded Milton as the highest onject of esthetic enjoyment, calling for culture and critical powers.[126]

A disciple of Pemberton, who became greater than his master, was John Mason (1706-1763), who published his

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125. On The Leonidas of Glover. Common Sense, April 9, 1737. See Drake's Gleaner (1811). No. 36. Vol.I, 293-305.

126. Three Treatises(1744).Chap.v.Cf.also The Works(1841) pp.403.411,453.

Essays on the Power and Harmony of Numbers in 1749 (2nd. Edition in 1761). He was interested in the musical values of verse, and admitted some variations in deference to Milton, whom he regarded as a "great master of poetic numbers," but "not without his faults." But even this measure of literality was tabooed by Dr. Johnson, who insisted that the rigid regularity of "our versification admits of few linenses."[127]

These dictatorial critics, whose orthodoxy in verse had no support in historical fact, could not long hold a position of authority, when the tendency of the times demanded such support. The formal recognition of this fact appeared in Lord Kames, who produced his Elements of Criticism in 1762. With him, the structural foundation of English verse was regularity. The time element was also observed in versification. The essential difference between verse and prose was the degree of perfection involved and the observation of "certain inflexible laws." He praised Pope, especially in his Rape of the Lock, for perfection of Versification. But all these elements of regularity are rather taken for granted as the fundamental basis of verse. Kames formally announced in his Introduction that this work was to be inductive. He did not dictate what poetry should be, but appealed to history to see what poetry realy is. This appeal brought him into contact with the masters. His weakness appeared in pronouncing Shakespeare "a sort of measured prose;" his redemption was in praising Milton's "richest melody" and "sublimest sentiments." His real significance, however, was in his making the basic regularity of poetry bow in service to the demands of sentiment.

127. Dict. of the Eng. Language (1755). Historical Introduction Section on Prosody.

This enthroning of substance above form led him to assign several reasons, which a contemporary Critic regarded unanswerable. "Why blank verse is preferable to rhyme, where force and elevation of language is requisite."[128] Content then is the determining factor in poetry. Verse form is a means and not an end; and greatness of poetry depends upon the greatness of mind, the exaltation of soul, the loftiness of the message that the verses bring to men. In this general view, it will be seen that Kames was seconded by Webb; and the two constitute a landslide from regularity to the side of Milton, liberality, and blank verse.

The other line of criticism was followed by those who continued from the earlier period to champion the cause of blank verse directly in opposition to the couplet. This provoked some over bold assertion of confidence on the part of the formalists,(Trib. 53), but the liberal ranks of blank verse were constantly recruited, and the movement increased rapidly in strength during this period.

The essential difference in the two schools may be stated in various terms of antagonism, according to the point of view. It was blank verse versus heroic couplet, reason versus imagination, Milton versus Pope, authority versus individualism, arbitrary dictum versus historical facts, form versus content, progress versus conservatism, dawn versus twilight, liberty versus shackles, and so on inexhaustibly. But all of this means that the nation was weary of the worn out monotony of the couplet, and wanted a new, liberal, and hopeful medium, of

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128. Henry Home (1696-1782), Lord Kames. Elements of Criticism. Introduction, and Chapter xviii on Beauty of Language. Many other chapters have matter on Milton. See also the Mo. Rev. July, 1762. 27: 13-24.

poetic expression.

This was the period when the serious battle was fought and won, though there were later attacks from the defeated ranks of the couplet. The blank verse poems of Philips and Thomson continued to be popular. Much strength was added to the cause of liberal versification in the popular blank verse productions of Warton, Blair, Young, and others, in 1740-1750. By 1744 a poetical wit was telling the secrets of Parnassus, how,

> With jingling Rhimes together tied,
> A Shameful Dearth of Sense we hide.(Frib.72).

Everywhere the advocates of blank verse laid increasing emphasis upon content as opposed to mere poetic form: the imaginative appeal and poetic spirit were held essential. Aaron Hill's Advice to the Poets was published, and reviewed at great length in 1754. Among other things, the Review quoted the following significant Motto of the poem;[129]

> Shame fall on your jugling, ye soft sons of rhyme,
> Tuneful consumers of your readers times!
> Fancy's light dwarfs! whose feather-footed strains,
> Dance in wild windings, through a waste of brains:
> Your's is the guilt of all, who judging wrong,
> Mistake tun'd nonsense for the poet's song.[129]

The substance of the song as the determining factor received no little emphasis from the pen of John Byrom (1692-1763). In his Thought on Rhyme and Blank Verse (1755), he seemed at first to favor rhyme, attributing the "craze" for blank verse to the study of Homer, Virgil, Horace and plays. But he came to the final conclusion, that

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129. Mo. Rev. Jan., 1754. 10: 16-30.

'Tis the subject, in fine, in the matter of song,
That makes a blank verse, or a rhyme to be wrong. 130

The Contest(1755), which contained a preface in favor of blank verse, illustrated with an original Ode by Roger Comberback. and a defence of Rhyme, supported by an Eclogue by Dr. John Byron, provoked the same general sentiment from the Monthly Review. The critic conceeded that "rhyme may be, and often is, without poetry, as poetry may be without rhyme." He felt, however, that rhyme belonged to the genius of the English Language, and being more difficult, was a better test of poetical ability.[131] That rhyme was felt to be the medium for expressing trivial content, is quite evident in the following taunt:

Beaumont and Fletcher! ----------[great]
Till fashion drove, in a refining age,
Virtue from the court, and nature from the stage.
Then nonsense, in heroics, seem'd sublime;
Kings rav'd in couplets, and maids sigh'd in rhyme.[132]

Perhaps the most effective attempt to enthrone blank verse over the couplet was made in Warton's Essay upon Pope (1756), already considered in this chapter. Warton was thoroughly imbued with Romantic tendencies, and applauded the freer mode far above that which shackled the imaginative element in verse. The next year(1757), Thomas Newcomb reddered Harvey's Contemplations on a Flower-Garden into blank verse, and was censured for leaving remnants of rhyme, "which show always a bad effect in blank verse."[133] In the same year, Robert Colvill (d.1788) argued that blank verse was "suited to every species of composition, from the highest sublime down to very chit-chat," and gave an example of the latter

130. Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 15: 206-207.
131. Mo. Rev. Aug., 1755. 13: 95-99.
This critic attributed the charms of Shakespeare and Milton to "the animated beauty of their descriptions,
(cont.)

extreme(Trib.117). But a Reviewer of Gray's Odes (1757) stoutly contended that experiments showed the necessity of rhyme in English Odes.[134]

Few men spoke more distincly on this subject than Dr. Edward Young (1683-1765), in his Conjectures on Original Composition (1759) . None, perhaps, was in position to speak with more authority. Being older than Pope, Young had seen the school of the Couplets reach its highest point and then decay. He was a student of his times, who marched in the front ranks of progress. He had attained some distinction in the pseudo-classical school, as a poet, and deserted that school only to attain higher poetic honours in the Romantic school. These Conjectures were designed to foster the forward movement. Incidentally he discussed the typical modes of poetic expression. As a scholar, he spoke the mature conviction of careful observation. As a poet, he infused into his words the conviction of broad experience. His pronouncement may be regarded, therefore, as the pivot on which the Century swung around in respect to versification in favor of the Romantic freedom of blank verse. Henceforth the couplet was on the defensive; while the triumphant Romanticists calmly conceeded certain real, but inferior, merits to the restraints of rhyme.

131.(cont.)and that justness and elevation of their sentiments, which feast the imagination, and possess the judgement so completely, that the absence of this organic gratification is scarcely adverted to."

132. George Colman(1732-1794). Prologue to Philaster. Upon Powell's first appearance at Drury Lane, Oct.8, 1763. Bell's Brit. Theatre. ed. 1797. vol. 18, pp.xiii-xiv. For emphasis upon content, see Trib. 134.

133. Cr. Rev. July, 1757. 4: 67;

134. Mo. Rev. Sept, 1757. 17: 239-243.

Young happily brought the full force of the Romantic arguments into play by choosing to make his attack directly upon Pope's Translation of the Iliad. Speaking of that performance, Young said:

> Had Milton never wrote, Pope would have been less to blame; but when in Milton's genius, Homer, as it were, personally rose to forbid Britons doing him that ignoble wrong, it is less pardonable, by that effeminate decoration, to put Achilles in petticoats a second time. How much nobler had it been, if his numbers had rolled on in full flow, thro' the various modulations of masculine melody, into those grandeurs of solemn sound which are indispensably demanded by the native dignity of heroic song! How much nobler if he had resisted the temptations of that Gothic demon which modern poesy, tasting, became mortal!,,..... Harmony, as well as eloquence, is essential to poesy; and a murder of his music is putting half Homer to death. 'Blank' is a term of diminution; what we mean by 'blank verse' is verse, unfallen, uncursed; verse reclaimed, reinthroned in the true language of gods; who never thundered, nor suffered their Homer to thunder, in rhyme." Again, speaking of Dryden, he says, "The demonstration of his no-taste for the buskin are his tragedies fringed with rhyme; which, in epic poetry is a sore disease, in the tragic absolute death. To Dryden's enormity, Pope"s was a slight offence... 'Must rhyme,' then say you, 'be banished ?' I wish the nature of our language could bear its entire expulsion; but our lesser poetry stands in need of a toleration for it; it raises that, but sinks the great; as Spangles adorn children, but expose men." 135

The immediate effects of this bold stand on the part of the most popular living poet were evident in the spirit of quiescence on the one hand and of confidence on the other that henceforth prevailed. In May of that year(1753) a reviewer of Armstrong's Sketches held that transpositions were in harmony with the English language, and "that all our best English poems may be reduced to some standard of antient measure, especially the poem Paradise Lost." 136 In December a high claim was made for

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135. ~~Mo.Rev. Sept, 1757.~~
135. Conjectures, 565, 574 - Quoted by Phelps -Beginnings of Romanticism. 43-44.
136. Launcelot Temple (John Armstrong, 1709-1779), Sketches, or Essays on Various Subjects, London, 1758. Cr.Rev. May,1753. 5: 330-336.

blank verse excellence in didactic poetry, while another critic was "surprised" that Mr. William Henrick (1725-1778), in his Epistles Philosophical and Moral, written in octosyllabics, "should have confined himself to the fetters of rhyme, an attention to which must of necessity cramp expression, and sometimes render the author's meaning obscure and ambiguous."[137]

Gray showed an interest in this question of verse freedom, not unfavorable to advancement - "Gray disliked Akenside, and in general all poetry in blank verse, except Paradise Lost." But Gray was impressed with the spirit of liberal versification in Milton's earlier rhymed verse, and felt that England owed her deliverance from the modern fetters, to the influence of Spenser and Milton's Paradise Lost.[138] Goldsmith, who was never consistent in anything, deplored the modern vogue of blank verse(1759), left rhyme out of his definition of poetry(1760), decried all modern verse(1770), and himself wrote in endless couplets.[139] Samuel Bishop (1731-1795), in his Epigrams (cxviii), rather pithily questioned,

> If rhyme, or blank verse, in our day,
> Serves Poetry's purpose worst!

The Monthly Review defended "The dignity of blank verse," and declared the mode potentially popular. "The easy harmony of Lyric Poetry," it was claimed, "is not more readily caught by the unbraced ear of age, than the swelling grandeur

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137. Cr. Rev. Dec. 1758. 6: 439-453.
138. Gray, To Richard West (1742) ed. Gosse(1884). II, 102; The Works(1884), II, 364,., quoted from Mitford's Ed.(1816); Obs. on Eng. Metre(1760-1). Works, I, 332-333,335.
139. Present State of Polite Learning(1759). Chapter x. Murray ed. II, 52. Citizen of the World(1760). Letter 40. Dedication to The Traveller(1765). Murray, I. 1-4. The Life of Parnell. III, 126-145. Note 112 above.

of Miltonic numbers."[140] The historical appeal was pronounced in the antiquarian mind of Bishop Percy (1728-1811), who, while editing the Poems of Surrey (1763), gave specimens of all blank verse before Milton.

The influence of such claims and such appeal at just this point cannot be overestimated. Gradually the spirit of the times had risen to the consummate statement of Dr. Young. The venerable Doctor had used Milton's excellence as a means of exposing Pope's weakness in dealing with the Ancients, had branded the French innovations of the Restoration even in the hands of Dryden, as monstrous, and had assigned rhyme to the sphere of small poetry. Here it was claimed that blank verse was essentially the possession of the people; and Percy showed in his collected specimens that it was a part of their national tradition, which was felt to bring them nearest to the glory of the Ancients. As all that was essentially English must have thrilled secretly upon the appearance of Paradise Lost in the old form of native excellence, so all here must have openly rejoiced at these advances as the effectual emancipation of the Nation from the foreign and barbarous bondage.

The force of Dr. Young's position appeared plainly in the Elements of Criticism (1762), by Lord Kames, already considered. It was even stronger in the Remarks on the Beauties of Poetry, by Daniel Webb (1719-1798), published in the same year, and in his Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music (1769). He was, like Kames, a believer in regularity as the formal basis of verse; but even more than Kames,

he held that regularity must bow to the needs of content and expression.

Remarks,
Webb's, which are said to be both judicious and ingenious," are very important in this connection. His criticism is introduced in the form of a dialogue between Rhyme and Blank Verse. His evident object is to exalt the merits of blank verse, and to expose the defects of rhyme. The latter, for want of liberality, he declared deficient for nature, truth, and music. He argued that the couplet is incapable of such a variety in its harmony as Blank Verse; but poets of an ordinary genius should never give it up. "Yet let not bards of sublime powers sacrifice their noble fire to an empty jingle. Let them unfold their lofty images in a continued strain of unlimited harmony, and in a superior majesty of Miltonic numbers." The couplet was held to tame enthusiasm, and to compel littleness of scenery. But Blank Verse admitted great force and variety, and allowed a better expression of passions.

Webb "agrees with all men of taste and judgment," according to the Critical Review, "to prefer" blank verse to rhyme. He held that "rhyme is not formed for those fine gradations which blank verse is capable of." The freer mode was claimed to give (1) more dignified expressions of the subject; (2) greater variety of pause; (3) more variety of harmony, affording less leveling and more exalting effects, better breaks and transitions, better changes of passion, and both verbal and sentimental harmony, by the last meaning agreement between the sound or movement and the sense.

The following criticism of Addison, heartily seconded by the Critical Review, was directed at the weakness of the couplet. "Accustomed as he was to the secure monotony of the couplet, he had neither the genius to bear him through, nor the courage to attempt the unbounded variety of the Miltonic measures." He compared Addison to a weak bird of a straight flight, and Milton to "the eagle, wonderful in his soarings, (who) shows in his very stoops the power of his wings." 141

This author started with regularity as the basis of versification, but discussed the qualities of verse in terms of the Romantic spirit, exalted blank verse above the couplet, and identified the freer form with the advanced movement. Blank verse was held to be not only the form most proper to

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140. Criticism of Resignation, in Two Parts &c. Mo. Rev. June, 1762. 26: 462ff.
141. Mo. Rev. April, 1762. 26: 282-298. Cr. Rev. May, 1762. 13: 401-405.

the sublime, but also to the natural, the liberal, to enthusiasm, andto the passions. These views were asserted with the full confidence of popular support. The Monthly Review, not usually very sympathetic with blank verse, devoted sixteen pages to Webb's publication. This immediate interest was sanctioned by the later popularity of the work, which appeared in several editions. The Critical Review declared that this "elegant performance ..... has a great deal of merit, without any fault but that of a fine day in autumn, of being too short."

With the acceptance of this work, one may regard the triumph of blank verse complete, though the couplet was destined to one more death-struggle for existence. This period of commentaries and controversies has made Milton's substance the nation's possession, and his verse-form the nation's poetic voice. There this chapter leaves him in his popular supremacy.

CHAPTER VII -- THE ROMANTIC APPLICATION OF MILTON

1765 — 1801

The former period having in large measure explained Milton's Paradise Lost and popularized his Prose, and introduced his Minor Poems into familiarity, this period undertook the Romantic application of those materials. By this is meant mainly that Milton's works fall across some of the main currents of this great life movement of the Eighteenth Century. For a hundred years his lofty utterances had gradually wrought themselves into the fibre of English, and even Continental life. Already their molding, directing, productive power had been felt. But during this period they came to their own in the richest fruitage of the Romantic movement. A new day had dawned upon the world, a day of larger human sympathies, of better and brighter hopes; and the Romantic forces, with Milton much in the lead, were showing their right to occupy the new day.

The Prose Works and Paradise Lost showed multiplied points of contact with the new movement, as will appear subsequently in this chapter. But the Minor Poems were narrowed largely to the limited sphere of poetic imitation, within which sphere their influence was Romantic, and not unimportant. Considerable critical attention was given to these poems during the last quarter of the century, but this attention was more in the nature of scholarly research, than of Romantic emphasis.

Samson Agonistes, which had been popular as an Oratorio in the preceding period, was, in this period, relegated to the scholar's closet. Dr. James Beattie, in a foot-note to his Essay on Truth (1770), commended Samson as a new type of heroic character not in Homer, and the conception of Delilah as the perfection of "an alluring, insinuating, worthless

woman."[1] Perhaps this very note led Dr. Johnson (1779) to censure this Tragedy for revealing a want of knowledge in human nature in the "shades of character" and in "the combination of concurring or the perplexity of contending passions."[2] Richard Cumberland (1732 - 1811) in 1786,[3] and Sir John Hawkins (1719 - 1789) in 1787,[4] undertook to defend Milton against these strictures of Johnson, "but with little success," according to the Monthly Review.

The Tragedy was translated into Greek (1788) by George Henry Glasse (d. 1809),[5] and an abridgement of it for the stage was attempted by John Penn ten years later.[6] In 1790, the drama was closeted along with Glover's Medea and Mason's Elfrida and Caractacus.[7] This conviction of the closet qualities of the play was emphatic in the mind of Thomas Green, who pronounced Samson "a noble poem, but a miserable drama."[8] Thus Samson as a Tragedy passed

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1. James Beattie, LL.D.(1735 - 1803). An Essay on Truth (1776). II, 92n.

2. Johnson, Life of Milton (Hill). I. 188-190. He re-iterated the criticism of 1751 (p.196), allowing the Tragedy to have "many particular beauties, many just sentiments and striking lines: but it wants that power of attracting attention which a well-connected plan produces."

3. Observer, No. 76. Brit. essayists, 1823. 33: No. 76; 1827, 27: 1-6. Cf. Mo. Rev. May, 1789. 80: 410-414.

4. The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D (1787). Mo. Rev. July, 1787. 77: 67-68.

5. This was a Greek-Latin edition, Oxford (1788), London (1789). It received an extensive review, concerned mainly with the fidelity and adequacy of the Translation. Mo. Rev. 81:1-19, 97-111, 241-256.

6. Critical, Poetical and Dramatic Works, 2 vols. Elmsby. 1798. Vol. II. Mo. Rev. May, 1798. 107(26): 68-71; Cr. Rev. Dec.,1798. n.s. 24:475-76.

7. F. Sayers, Dramatic Sketches of the Ancient Northern Mythology. 4 to. pp.122. Johnson, London. 1790. Evidently connected with the Romantic revival, but they were declared to be a sort of closet dramas, after the manner of Milton's Sampson, &c., with "several attempts at innovation."

8. Thos. Green, Extracts from the Diary of a Lover of Literature. Under March 8th, 1799. He liked Comus better, but preferred "the Gothic Architecture of Shakespeare." Lycidas, for want of genuine sorrow, Green regarded "essentailly defective as a Monody."

through the Classical and Romantic movements of the Eighteenth Century with little more than the perfunctory attention of scholarly criticism.

The earlier Poems of Milton continued to be widely imitated, the Sonnet revival was a distinct product of their influence, the Latin and Italian poems came into prominence, as already noticed in chapter II., and the other more important poems of the group attracted considerable attention on the part of scholarly research.

The Monthly Review (1766) regarded it a "dangerous thing to attempt to translate the Companion Poems, whose merit in no small degree depends upon a felicity of expression."[9] The next year, Goldsmith felt that the irregular measure of their introductions, "borrowed from the Italian ---- hurts an English ear." [10] After these commonplaces it is refreshing to meet with a letter of Sir William Jones (1745-1794) To Lady Spencer (1769) giving a Description of Milton's Residence at Forest Hill, three miles from Oxford, where Milton wrote the Companion Poems.

Perhaps few circumstances combine more lines of Miltonic and Romantic interests -- Jones was a student of Milton's Prose. "We pursued in theory, and even executed in practice, the plan of education projected by Milton; and boasted, that with the fortune of a peasant, he could give himself the education of a prince." [11] At the age of twenty-three he had all the enthusiasm of an ardent Romanticist, with the instinct of the pilgrim, the love of the country, and a veneration for the relics of the past. He found his holiday diversion with Milton's Minor Poems. He had on this occasion visited the sacred literary shrine, consecrated by the early residence and labors of Milton. There Jones amused himself with the several points of local contact with the L'Allegro and

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9. Mo. Rev., Feb., 1766. 34: 166.

10. The Beauties of English Poesy. (1767, 1776). Cr. Rev. June, 1767. 23: 408-411. Works (Murray, 1854). III. 436.

11. Campbell, Specimens Brit. Poets. 1819. 7:205.

Pensoroso. Then he lingered fondly about the ruins of the old mansion where Milton had lived. Solemn thoughts of the great poet and of his vast meaning to the English worldcame into this young devotee's mind. "The hawthorn in the dale," and the nightingale groves "most musical, most melancholy," vanished alike from his thoughts, while the serious Milton took full possession of his mind. The young enthusiast resolved to "repair this venerable mansion, and to make a festival for a circle of friends, in honor of Milton, the most perfect scholar, as well as the sublimest poet, that our country ever produced." [12] How inevitable the transition! How patriotic and grateful the spirit! How Romantic the sentiment! That was indeed the way in which many were beginning to think of Milton.

These Companion Poems were used as familiar illustrative materials,[13] and were regarded, along with Paradise Lost, as an essential element in popular education.[14] The scholar's interest in the Minor Poems became prominent in

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12. To Lady Spencer, Sept.7, 1769. C. D. Cleveland, A Comp. of Eng. Lit., 1869. 698-700.

13. At least three writers cited these poems to illustrate "the imitative power of articulate sounds: Jas. Beattie (Essay on Truth),(ed.1777, II, p.308), Geo. Campbell (Philosophy of Rhetoric, 1776. Cr. Rev. 42: 184). Thos. Twining (Disser. on Poetical Imitation, with Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry, 1789. Cr.Rev. 68:358-366). The last quoted Comus also, and Beattie quoted the Comp. Poems nine times for various purposes in his Essay on Truth (1770). "Ten well adapted lines from Il Pensoroso of Mil ton" were in the first room of the "Hermitage" at Hagley Park. (Joseph Heeley, Letters on the Beauties of Hagley, Envil, and the Leasowes, Cr. Rev.July, 1777. 44:37). Richardson wrote a paper (Mirror, No.24.April 17, 1779. Brit. Es. 1823, 28:No.24), To Show the "Advantages which the Artist in the fine Arts has over Nature in the Assemblage and Arrangement of Objects; exemplified in Milton's Allegro and Pensoroso."" The artist can control the selection of external sensuous objects that will harmonize with the internal feelings. This is well done by Milton. Beattie had noticed this excellence in his Essay on Truth (1770).

14. The Poetical Miscellany, printed by Becket (1762), for use in schools began with selections from Milton, and drew, for the most part from poets that were Romantically inclined. The editor presumed that "any sensible and unprejudiced parent will be better pleased to hear his son repeat 50 lines of Milton, &c, than 500 lines of Ovid or Virgil." This work was commended.(Mo.Rev.Nov.,1762. 27:390). Poems for Young Ladies (1767) formally recommended extracts from P.L. for girls; and Cowper thought the Comp.Poems and the Epic a good thing for boys.(To Wm.Unwin,Jan.17,1782)

1772, and continued throughout the century. Comus was re-adapted that year, by George Coleman, into a sort of interlude that was fairly popular. But the main stimulus to the discussion of Milton's minor poetry was the publication, by the Rev. William Thompson, of The Works of Wm. Browne, (1591-1643).

Browne's Shepherd's Pipe (1614,1620) was composed of seven Ecologues. The fourth of these, a lament of the author for his deceased friend, Thomas Manwood, was supposed to have given Milton a suggestion for his Lycidas.[15] Browne also wrote The Inner Temple Masque, which was acted Jan. 13, 1615, but never printed until this edition in 1772. Thompson commended it for its "Strong and lively fancy" and suggested that "Milton, in all probability, borrowed the idea of Comus from this excellent poem." The "probability" was generally allowed; and Thomas Warton's interest in the suggestion led finally, through various stages of his History,[16] and Editions of Milton, to his Account of the Origin of Comus, separately printed in 1799.

At the risk of slightly repeating from chapter IV, the criticism of Johnson's Life of Milton (1779) must be noticed here, for it was the touchstone of almost all that followed in the century. The Doctor's view of Samson Agonistes has already appeared in this chapter. It was adverse to Milton. So was Johnson's estimate of the smaller pieces and the Latin verses of Milton. Johnson did allow a grudging praise to the Companion Poems, and a measure of applause to Paradise Lost. But he poured forth his utmost bitterness against Comus and Lycidas.

> Comus was pronounced the greatest of the Juvenile performances. Milton was applauded for his "power of description and his vigour of sentiment, employed in the praise and defence of virtue. A work more

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14. (Cont.d from last page). The Reviews regarded any neglect of Milton as little less than stupid. Cf. Mrs. Madan's Progress of Poetry (Cr.Rev. Mar.,1783. 55:231), and Jas.Hurdis's Tears of Affection (1794). (Mo.Rev. 96(15) :314)

15. Another attempt was made in 1786 to find the source of Lycidas in Buchanan's Desiderium Lutetiae. "T.H.W.", Gent. Mag.Sept.,1786.56(2):1110-11.

16. Warton also went at some length into the similarities of Browne's Masque

truly poetical is rarely found. As a series of lines it is worthy of all the admiration with which the votaries of Milton have received it." "As a drama, it is deficient. The action is not probable." The discourse of the Spirit was thought too long. The Prologue in the woods was condemned.[17] The soliloquies of Comus and the Lady were considered elegant, but tedious. The whole "wants animation, and that quality which allures attention." "A drama in the epick style, inelegantly splendid, and tediously instructive." (Ed. G.B.Hill, I.167-169)

Lycidas, however, had no preamble of praise to ameliorate the strokes of censure. "The diction is harsh, the rhyme uncertain, and the numbers unpleasing. What beauty there is we must therefore seek in the sentiments and the images. It is not to be considered as the effusion of real passion; for passion runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions." "In this poem there is no nature, for there is no truth; there is no art, for there is nothing new." The mixing of "sacred truths" was regarded as little short of sacrilege. (Ed. Hill, I, 163).

These strictures, together with the sinister reflections upon Milton's religion, and the abuse of that poet for his political views, were as fire touched to the Romantic magazines. The explosion was immediate, and measured the strength of Milton's hold upon English life in connection with the new movement. The nation that had, in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, debated Milton's Epic, doubted his religion, hated his prose, and ignored his Minor Poems, rose in reply to this last great voice of the old prejudice, and defended everything that was Miltonic.

These friends of Milton and Romanticism defended Milton's character as a student, and found his religion, which needed no defence, reflected in the Romantic excellence of that simple, soulful devotion of the first Parents in Eden. Loyally they exalted Milton's Latin Verses above those of Cowley, and even pronounced them classic. With Romantic zeal and patriotic enthusiasm they championed the political principles of Milton, and espoused the cause of certain

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16. (cont'd). and Comus, in his Hist, ofEng. Poetry (1775). Hazlitt ed.,III, 321. Cf. also the Gr. Rev.Feb.,1772. 33:118, for Thompson's view.

17. Landor felt that Johnson's criticism of the Prologue was unanswerable, and that the general criticism was sane. (Imaginary Conversations,iv, 284).

Minor Poems against the particular strictures of the Doctor's pen. But comparatively few cared to bring the exalted Paradise Lost down to the low plane of this controversy. From the standpoint of that divine performance, this "most industrious cruelty" of Johnson was an outrage, if not sacrilege itself.[18]

Walpole spoke of this Life of Milton with scorn: and Archdeacon Blackburne treated the Doctor with no small measure of abuse. J. Boerhaave declared it "painful to liberal mind to see such a man, and such a writer as Dr. Johnston, stooping to throw the dirt of party." He charged the work with "several ill-natured misrepresentations."[19] The Rev. Thomas Twining considered that "Johnson's mind is fettered with prejudice, civil, poetical, political, religious, and even superstitious. As a reasoner he is nothing. He has not the least tincture of the esprit philosophique upon any subject." He censured the Doctor severely for failing to recognize a "promise of Milton's genius in his Juvenile Poems," and for not feeling the beauties of Gray.[20] Philip Neve, whose opinion of Milton was in keeping with the enthusiastic spirit of the age, affirmed "that prejudice, envy, may malignity, have, throughout this work, even extinguished the candour of its author; in all cases determined his will against his subject, and in some misled his judgement."[21]

Gradually the Doctor's feeling of revolt against the spirit of his later times had come to this point of final explosion. Gradually, too, the narrowing focus of his Tory prejudices was felt to center upon Milton as the great productive influence of the liberal party. Already, seventeen years before this attack, the Monthly Review had sounded a warning, that an insult to

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18. Wm. Cowper, To Wm. Unwin, Oct.31, 1779. Hayley's Life of Cowper, 1812. I, 215.

19. Gent. Mag. Oct., 1779. 49: 492-493.

20. Twining bought the Lives Dec. 8, 1781. (To His Brother, May 3, 1784). A Country Clergyman of the 18th. Century. pp. 119-120.

21. Cursory Remarks(1789),pp.134-38. Neve thought that this Life would be the last "for many years," and thus warned against a probable misconception of Milton from the work. But several Lives of Milton were written within a few years. Chap.iv.

the memory of the "glorious" poet of Paradise Lost was "an offence which no party attachment can palliate." [22] Johnson, who knew the fountain heads of the liberal movement, threw himself across its main Miltonic stream; only to find himself for a time in the swirling floods of wrath and indignation. Even his venerable age did not shield him. Nor did his death (1784) check the voices that rose to defend Milton. The opposite was rather true. When the old Doctor had passed away, the Great Reviews and the periodicals seemed to feel a new license to cull and comment to suit the spirit of the age.

Few writers seem to have thought of Milton without some feeling of resentment against Dr. Johnson. The current Reviews felt that Milton was outraged.[23] Dunbar felt that Milton "lisped in numbers," and beheld in Comus "the dawn of an immortal day." [24] James Burnet, who felt Johnson incapable of judging Milton, thought the subject of Comus even better chosen than that of Paradise Lost, and Milton alone comparable to Homer.[25] George Canning quoted Comus, and considered Milton the father of English Poetry.[26] One ultra-enthusiast thought this poem the best expression of Milton's "genuine feeling," and would prefer the honor of its authorship even to that of Paradise Lost.[27] Lycidas was also formally defended as a work of genius, especially in the much applauded Critical

22. Stated in an adverse criticism on the Toryism of John Philips, which led him to "call the despicable James I 'the favorite of Heaven,' and Charles his son, 'the best of Kings' "— a fact which his biographer had overlooked, in his edition of Philip's Poems with a Life (1762). Mo. Rev. Sept., 1762. 27: 227.

23. Mo. Rev. 1779. 61:81-92, 186-191. Cr.Rev. 1779. 47:354-362, 450-453.

24. Jas. Dunbar, Essays on the Hist. of Mankind in Rude and Uncivilized Ages. In a Note, quoted by the Cr. Rev. Aug., 1780. 50:108.

25. Lord Monboddo. Letter xxxiv, To Sir George Baker, Oct.2,1782. ed. Knight, 1900. pp.214-215. He regarded the oratorical excellence of P.L. "wonderful."

26. "Gregory Griffin," Microcosm No.ix. Nov. 6, 1786. Comus, 291-293.

27. Critical Remarks. The Bee. No.143. vol.xvi,265. Drake's Gleaner, 1811. No. 174. iv, 306-320. This writer exalted blank verse, the sublimity of Paradise Lost, Allegro, and Comus, but felt that the reputation of the Epic had "given a degree of respectability to all his other writings, yet in all these we discover more of labor than is suitable to the ease of light composition."

Essays (1785) by John Scott of Amwell.[28] In all such works one may constantly feel an attempt to deny Johnson's adverse views respecting those particular poems of the great English Poet.

The great bulwark of defence against Dr. Johnson was, however, the editorial work of Thomas Warton. If his edition of Milton's Poems on Several Occasions (1785, 1791) was not suggested by Johnson's criticism, certainly it was greatly stimulated by the general spirit of resentment. Warton, however, was respectful, though confidently sympathetic with Milton. The Johnson element in Warton's work was a mere incident. The work was intended to be a much needed contribution to Miltonic interests. In a long Preface Warton dwelt upon the neglect of Milton's earlier poems, first by the reading public, and secondly by vast editorial activities of the eighteenth Century. Only twice before (1645, 1673) had the poems been published in separate editions, and never had they been separately edited. Warton, therefore, undertook the work much in the spirit of public service and national obligation, and as such his labors were received with applause.[29]

This volume of Warton became at once the rallying point of enthusiastic opposition to Dr. Johnson's earlier strictures on Milton.[30] But the real

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28. John Scott, Esq. (1730-1783). Critical Essays on Some of the Poems of Several English Poets. edited by J. Moole, 1785. Of Milton's poems, he chose Lycidas for "judicious" vindication. Mo. Rev. July, 1785. 77:25-31. Cf. Cr. Rev. Nov., 1785. 60: 345-350.

29. Cr. Rev. 1785. 59: 321-328, 421-430. Mo. Rev. 1788. 79: 1-12, 97-104, 342-351. 1791. 91(10): 24-34.
There were some adverse matters, as A Letter to T. Warton, &c. (1785) which was variously criticized---as a "trifling" indication of a "carping discontented spirit." (Cr. Rev. Aug., 1785. 60:159); as "well worth the consideration of Mr. Warton." (Mo. Rev. Oct., 1788. 79:380); and as partly true (Thos. Green, Extracts from the Diary, June 24, 1800). But Warton's second edition (1791) showed him capable of profiting by the suggestions made.

30. Cf. the Letters of Anna Seward (1747-1809). xii. To Court Dewes, Esq., Mar. 30, 1785. She hailed Warton as "indeed a critic," and hoped that his powers may "clear the times from their darkness," referring to "the misleading sophistry of Johnson." Also xv. To Mrs. Brooke, April 21, 1785. She pronounced the edition "a literary treasure," and thought that Warton had "all the eloquence and strength of Johnson, without his envy."

re-action to Warton's work was a quickened interest in the sources of Milton's Minor Poems. "C. T. O." began to emphasize Milton's indebtedness to Spenser, the Fletchers and Drayton, early in 1785.[31] Philip Neve was largely interested in this phase of Milton study (1789).[32] An anonymous writer, in The Bee, argued a close connection between Drummond of Hawthornden and Milton's Minor Poetry.[33] H. J. Todd published his learned edition of Comus (1798), which afterwards became a [illegible] part of his great Edition of Milton's Complete Poetical Works (1801). Comus, with Warton's Origin of the poem, was separately printed (1799), and Nathan Drake was interested in the Platonic notes of this Mask and Il Pensoroso during the last years of the century.[34]

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31. Gent. Mag. 1786. 56: 134-136, 486-488.

32. Cursory Remarks. Neve felt that Milton was indebted to Spenser and the Italians for Lycidas; to Ben Jonson for Comus; and to Beaumont and Fletcher for Il Pensoroso. But his remarks on the last poem are worth quoting entire. He considered "that Beaumont's song in the Passionate Madman deserves as much attention as the Pensoroso itself. He analysed the song, finding many of its images in Pensoroso, but little contribution to the structure of Milton's poem.

"The subjects they severally exhibit are very different: they are like only, as shown under the same disposition of Melancholy. Beaumont's is the melancholy of the swain: of the mind that contemplates nature and man, but in the grove and the cottage: Milton's is that of the scholar and the philosopher: of the intellect, that has ranged the mazes of science; and that decides upon vanity and happiness, from large intercourse with man, and upon extensive knowledge and experience. To say, therefore, that Milton was indebted to Beaumont's song for his Pensoroso would be absurd. That it supplied some images to his poem will be readily allowed: and that it would be difficult to find, throughout the Pensoroso, amidst all its variety, any more striking, than what Beaumont's second stanza affords, may also be granted. Milton's poem is among those happy works of genius, which leave a reader no choise how his mind shall be affected."

33. On the Character and Writings of Drummond of Hawthornden. The Bee, May 16, 1792. The Gleaner, No. 151. iv. 89-102. By. Headley?

34. Lit. Hours (1800). No. xxxv. In No. xxv. he considered Milton "the model of, and the first who excelled in, what I would term the pictoresque ode. His L'Allegro and Il Pensoroso are the most exquisite and accurately descriptive poems in his own, or any other language, and will probably ever remain unrivalled."

The Lyric excellence of Milton was also emphasized in Letters of Literature (1785), (Letter v)., by "Robert Heron", Pinkerton. He thought that Gray had attained "a classic brevity and terseness formerly unknown in England, save to Milton alone."

The choicest of all these labours contributed to the variorum edition of Milton (1801) by H. J. Todd. The knell of adverse criticism was sounded by Edward Copleston (1776-1849), whose burlesque Review of Milton's L'Allegro (1807) lashed the petty critics all out of court. There is nothing better with which to close this account of the Minor Poems, than the following appreciative statement of Sir Walter Scott, spoken in a connection that called for no exaggeration. His purpose was to show Milton's splendid superiority to the poetic conventions of his own day, as exemplified in the Minor Poems. But even in doing this, Scott praised more the great Epic as the embodiment of what Milton has meant to the world.

> "While his great contemporary Milton was in silence and secrecy laying the foundation of that immortal fame, which no poet has so highly deserved, Dryden's labours were ever in the eye of the public."
> " Milton, who must not be named in the same paragraph with others, although he had not yet meditated the sublime work which was to carry his name to immortality, disdained, even in his lesser compositions, the preposterous conceits and learned absurdities, by which his contemporaries acquired distinction. Some of his slighter academic prolusions are, indeed, tinged with the prevailing taste of the age, or, perhaps, were written in ridicule of it; but no circumstance in his life is more remarkable, than that Comus, the Monody of Lycidas, the Allegro and Pensoroso, and the Hymn to the Nativity, are unpolluted by the metaphysical jargon, and affected language which the age esteemed indispensable to poetry. The refusal to bend to an evil so prevailing, and which held out so many temptations to a youth of learning and genius, can only be ascribed to the natural chastity of Milton's taste, improved by an earnest and eager study of the purest models of antiquity." 35

This statement is the typical conclusion of the century very well stated. Milton's Minor Poetry was felt to possess an unusual excellence; but rarely was this smaller body of poetry thought of as Milton.

The last period of the century was pre-eminently one of responses to the Miltonic activities of the preceding periods. Extensive editorial labours

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35. Life of John Dryden. Work of J. Dryden (1808). I, pp. 3, 16.
~~It might be noticed that an end was put to adverse criticisms of Milton's Minor Poetry, by a burlesque Review of L'Allegro, A Poem. By John Milton, which was published (1807) by Edw. Copleston (1776-1849), and satirized the petty critics out of court.~~

were not to be expected;[36] though the former labours of this kind were in constant demand. The English people had come to understand Milton, set forth in his Prose and more powerfully in his Epics; and these works, especially the greater Epic, were the things most in demand. For a hundred years the exalted verse of Milton had gradually permeated the life of England, and helped to stir up the nation to throw off its yoke of depression. Gradually the volume of the response had grown until it had formed visible points of contact with almost every phase of the great life-movement, called Romanticism. The indication of some of these more important points of contact, is the task now undertaken.

First of all Paradise Lost formed a close contact with the better social life of the period, in the narrower sense of the word social. This was reflected on a rather large scale in the massive correspondence of the time. The ave-

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36. There were, however, some editorial labours worthy of notice. J. Buchanan rendered Six Books of Paradise Lost in Grammatical Construction, with Notes (1773). R. Bladon printed both Epics, with "historical, philosophical, and explanatory Notes, from several authors" (1775). Other publishers included similar selections of Notes, the chief contribution being "the celebrated critique" by Dr. Johnson, used by Parson (1796), and Evans (1799).

The Rev. John Gillies, D.D., edited Milton's Paradise Lost, Illustrated with Texts of Scripture (1788, 2d. ed. 1793), which received brief commendation (Mo.Rev. Oct., 1788. 79:369). The famous Methodist divine, the Rev. John Wesley, edited Extracts from Milton's Paradise Lost, with Notes (1791). Capel Loft undertook an edition of Paradise Lost, A Poem in Twelve. The Author John Milton. Printed from the First and Second Editions Collated. The Original Orthography Restored; the Punctuation Corrected and Extended. With various Readings; Notes Chiefly Rythmical. The First Book (1791) met with encouragement, and the work was carried through Book Four (1795), where it was dropped. (Cr. Rev. Jan., 1793. n.s. 7: 12-14).

The Recovery of Man; or Paradise Regained, in Prose, was printed (1771). Charles Dunster felt that the Minor Epic was a worthy poem too much neglected, and plead "its merits with the masterly discrimination of an eloquent advocate," in a critical edition (1795), according to the testimony of H.J.Todd (Life of Milton, 1826, 211).

Samuel Hayes, a disciple of Milton, felt that this smaller Epic had failed for want of furnishing an opportunity for "magnificent images and romantic descriptions." (Prayer, A Poem. Cr. Rev. Jan.,1778. 45:74-75). Thos. Green thought the subject most unhappily chosen. (Extracts. March 1, 1799). The Biographia Dramatica (1812, II, part ii., pp. 518) held that this Epic was inferior only in comparison with Paradise Lost. Otherwise it stood at the head of English epic poetry.

rage volume of Letters is almost equally divided in content between the purely social and literary elements. The letters of Gray usually have an ex cathedra more formal reservation of spirit, even when he would seem to speak informally. But even they indicate that he breathed, with his friends, a pure Miltonic air. The Wartons, and Mason bring Milton down at times almost to street-corner chit-chat. Anna Seward discusses everything Miltonic in every degree of dignity, even to the spending of a page on a single sonnet. Cowper made Milton an everyday matter of business and homelife. The one thing prominent, upon which all seem to agree, is that the serious thought of social life, as respects Milton, turns upon his greater Epic.

There was one writer, whose entire writing seems to reflect just this phase of eighteenth Century life, in all its degrees of seriousness or the opposite. That writer was Horace Walpole (1717-1797), a summary of whose Miltonic interests is the best comment on the topic now in hand.

> Late in his life he regarded the Tractate "a severe institution." (To the Countess of Upper Ossory, Dec. 26, 1789. Toynbee, xiv, 244). Twenty years before, he had recognized Milton as having "noble sentiments of liberty, (but asked) who would remember him for his barbarous prose?" (To The Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Nov.14,1769. vii, 332).
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> Walpole showed fondness for some of the Minor Poems, especially in his later life. He thought that "Allegro, Pensoroso, and Comus might be designated from the Three Graces." (To John Pinkerton, June 26, 1785. xiii, 279-285). He was attracted by the garden scene in Allegro (To Miss Mary Berry, Oct. 1, 1794. xv, 312-4), and thought that "there is more nature in six lines of Allegro and Pensoroso, than in all the laboured imitations of Milton." (To Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry, Sept. 16, 1791. xv, 59-60).
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> Walpole was ever interested in the scenic effects of Milton's poems, and especially those of Paradise Lost. This fact is very evident in the Essay on Modern Gardening (1785), which is given much to extolling Milton. Indeed Milton's exalted greatness was the standard of reference, whether Walpole indulged in serious reflection or ridicule (Toynbee, I, 312). Sometimes he was impatient with adverse criticism of Milton. (To ... Mason, Jan. 3, 1782. xii, 141). Sometimes he was merely curious, as when he wrote to Horace Mann for "a print of Vallombrosia," because of "a passion there is for it in England, as Milton has mentioned it." (May 13, 1752. iii, 94. cf. Paradise Lost, I, 302). He had at Strawberry Hill, in the Glass Closet, a copy of "Paradise Lost given by the Duke of Wharton to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who had written verses in the first leaf." (See her Letters and Works, 1893. II, 503, where these verses appear in

print). Walpole, like Steele, could turn Paradise Lost to social account with great facility; as when he described the charm of his heart at a ball of Miss Anne Pitt's in terms of Paradise Lost, I. 775-788.(To(Her), Feb. 21, 1764. vi. 15-16).

But in serious criticism Walpole proudly boasted independence of Aristotle and the rules, preferring "the extravagant beauties of Shakespeare and Milton to the cold and well disciplined merit of Addison, and even to the sober and correct march of Pope." (To Elie De Beaumont. March 18, 1765. vi. 201). William Hayley's Essay on Epic Poetry, in Five Epistles to.. Mason, gave considerable attention to Milton (Cf. Trib. 171), and called for a letter from Walpole to Mason (June 25, 1782. xii, 273). The tone of this letter was bitter irony, provoked, it seems, by Johnson's Life of Milton (1779). Walpole said, "Milton all imagination, and a thousand times more sublime and spirited(than Virgil), has produced a monster (epic)!" In another letter to Mason (No. 2272, 1782?. xii,172), Walpole calculated that four times what Mason is, would make him a little above Milton, and just equal to Shakespeare, "the only two mortals I am acquainted with who ventured beyond the visible diurnal sphere, and preserved their intellects."

Milton's writings made an immediate connection with the religious interests of eighteenth Century life, and furnished paradoxically support to orthodoxy and to the Romantic tendencies in religion. The Freethought that sprang up, parallel to the mysticism of the time, tended toward skeptical views of the world, of evil, and of the moral basis of the universe. The Churchmen who strove to defend the orthodox views constantly appealed to Milton as the highest authority,[37] and Paradise Lost was declared to have "contributed more to support the orthodox creed than all the bodies of divinity that were ever written." [38]

This contribution was in support of what one may call classical religion. But the greater influence of Milton supported the cause of the liberals in religion, as in politics. Milton himself had made formal attacks upon the abuses of the established orders of the Church. He inherited a breach with the

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37. Appendix G .

38. Review of Cumberland's Calvary (Mo. Rev. Sept., 1792. 90(9): 1-7). Nathan Drake thought that the reputation of Paradise Lost was due largely to its abstruse Theology. (Lit. Hrs. Sec. Cr. Rev. May, 1799. n.s. 2C: 11-19). The dual nature of Milton as poet, and theologian was recognized in a review of The Posthumous Works of Isaac Watts, 2 vols. 1779. (Mo. Rev. 61: 425). "It needed the genius of Milton to adopt the cant of Calvinism, and yet maintain the dignity of poetry."

Church of Rome. He repudiated the Church of England. He found no existing organization of the Church adequate to the ideals of his own free spirit. His standard of worship was that of the Master, in his discourse at Jacob's Well[39], and that ideal Milton attempted to embody in the morning praise of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

> Lowly they bowed, adoring, and began
> Their orisons, each morning duly paid
> In various style; for neither various style
> Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
> Their Maker, in fit strains pronounced, or sung
> Unmeditated; such prompt eloquence
> Flowed from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
> More tuneable than needed lute or harp
> To add more sweetness.

Few details in the great Epic fired the imagination of the liberal party in religion with such power and productive influence as this simple scene of "unmeditated" worship in Eden.

The influence of Paradise Lost extended to the extreme radicals in religious thought. This influence was pronounced in a publication, called De la Prédication, which appeared anonymously in Paris (1766), and apparently in London the same year. The author was for revolution. His thesis was that the Church had really done nothing to solve the social problems of life. The priests had preached for ages, and all in vain. The poets, too, had preached in vain. The climax of his argument he found in the failure of Milton's message; who, "of all the epic poets," had "chosen the grandest subject, and the fittest for a preacher. His plan is immense! it comprehends the counsels of the Almighty, and the whole creation." Since that has failed, the machinery for handling the problems of life through the Church is inadequate for the task. The whole argument is little more than Milton's own conclusions, misapplied by a mind that has taken fire from the imaginative element of Paradise Lost.[40]

But the great religious influence of Milton tended in the direction

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39. John 4: 23-24.
40. Mo. Rev. Appendix, 1766. 34: 538-547.

of Mysticism. The great poet was himself a Mystic in religion and poetry, for the two were one in his thought. He believed in the direct impulse of the Spirit. His religious gravitation was toward quakerism. His great Epic was produced under the conscious inspiration of the Holy Spirit. His direct appeal is to the divine that is in man. That appeal, moreover, found considerable response in the heart of eighteenth Century English Mysticism. William Law, the greatest mystic of the mid-century, was not unfamiliar with the words of the divine Milton. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was a student of Milton, and late in life (1791) edited Extracts from Paradise Lost. Thomas Hartley, an exact contemporary with Dr. Johnson, but a Millennialist and a admirer of Wesley, manifested an interest in Milton's Epics.[41]

Milton's influence, however, was more upon the inner life of the Nation than effective through any individual leadership. His whole conception of life was essentially mystical; and the breathing of his spirit, perhaps more than any other force, brought new life into the dry bones of the classical faith. Milton's influence was powerful because he re-introduced into the life of England another-world element which deepened the religious life of the nation. It was this mystical relation with the eternal world of the spirit in Milton that counted for the largest results. Leslie Stephens has very well said:

> With Shakespeare, or Sir Thomas Browne, or Jeremy Taylor, or Milton, man is contemplated in his relations to the universe; he is; in the presence of eternity and infinity; life is a brief drama; heaven and hell are behind the veil of phenomena; at every step our friends vanish into the abyss of ever present mystery. To all such thoughts the (classical) writers of the eighteenth century seemed to close their eyes as resolutely as possible." [42]

"The essence of romance is mystery," says Dr. F.H. Hedge. That fond-

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41. Thos. Hartley (1709-1784). Paradise Restored: Or, A Testimony to the Doctrine of the Blessed Millenium. (1764). CR. Rev. March, 1764. 17: 167-172. Cf. the Dict. Nat'l. Biog. "Hartley."

42. Hist. of Eng. thought in 18th. Century. II, p. 370.

ness for the mysterious, which inhered in Romanticism, a satisfaction to the early "influence of the Christian Religion; which deepened immeasurably the mystery of life, suggesting something behind and beyond the world of sense."[43] Professor Beers has defined the "deeper significance" of Romanticism to be a desire for the re-introduction of just that spirit of religion which produced the romance--"a reaching out of the human spirit after a more ideal type of religion and ethics than it could find in the official churchmanship and formal morality of the time." [44] Romanticism in religion is fundamentally a yearning for a conscious vital contact or union of the soul with the unseen, but real, world of the spirit.

Among the means that helped to satisfy this yearning of the religious spirit of the eighteenth Century, Paradise Lost occupied a position of double strength. As the embodiment of a powerful mystical conception of life, the poem held a didactic position second only to the English Bible, and was only a little less widely known. These forces led the way, and Bunyan was not far behind. Through these forces an entrance was made into the world of the spirit. But another means was added to vivify the reality of that spirit-world. The means introduced was the vital, vivid, satisfying faith of the Medieval Religious Romances. But in those Romances, it was soon discovered that the nation was only receiving the faith of Milton in diluted form. The great Poet had breathed the vital breath of the old Romances, and treasured their vitality in the greater Romance of Paradise Lost, with which Medieval Faith had nothing worthy to compare. Thus the whole Medieval Revival, on its religious side, served to enhance the religious influence of Milton's great religious Poem.

"Milton's fame was something which depended a good deal on politics."[45]

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43. Dr. F. H. Hedge, Classic and Romantic. Atlantic Monthly, March, 1886. vol. 57:

44. A Hist. of Eng. Rom. in the 18th. Cent. p. 32.

45. T. S. Perry, A Hist. of Eng. Lit. in the 18th. Cent., pp. 35-36.

This fact argues a very close relation between him and the poiltical interests and influences of any particular period. But the fame that came to Milton from such relations was never a matter of charity. His political friends designed to profit by their favours; and certainly Milton supported his friends with an influence that more than repaid all their kindnesses. Thus the Whig Party, as early as 1688, exalted Milton, and he, in turn, did much to bring about an ultimate triumph of many of the Whig principles. The very bitterness of Dr. Johnson's Tory attack upon Milton was a clear receipt to the great Poet for all his political obligations. But even in politics, it was through Paradise Lost that Milton attained his throne of influence; and it was very largely from the authority of that poetical throne that he reigned over social and political thought.

John Morley regards Milton as the real father of "spiritual and speculative freedom" for England, and , in a sense, for the world.

> "Milton's moving argument, at once so delicate and so haughty, for the rights and self-respecting obligation of 'that inner man which may be termed the spirit of the soul,' is the hidden mainspring of the revolt against formalism, against authority, and almost against church organization in any of its forms." [46]

Much the same was said, a generation earlier, by Mr. Alfred H.Welsh:

> "During a long, sultry mid-day of twenty years (1640-1660), Milton gave himself to the championship of ideas-----ideas that were to emancipate the press----ideas that plucked at thrones---- ideas that were to raise up commonwealths." [47]

These ideas with their appeal to the indefeasible rights of men,[48] were partly worked out in prose by Milton in the broils of the Civil War, and, in his Epics, refined, completed, and laid up in an immortal repository. Thus Milton worked his ideas upward into that dream of an ideal commonwealth which has exercised an immeasurable influence upon the democratic destinies of

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46. Oliver Cromwell. 1910. pp. 174-175.

47. Dev. of Eng. Lit. and Language. 1883. I, 473.

48. Leslie Stephen. Hobbes. pp. 205-206.

England.[49] With the element of liberty, Milton combined that of Righteousness, as lying equally at the basis of individual and social happiness. He fortifies his ideal commonwealth, therefore, with those direct instructions that make for happiness, and with that powerful exposition of social and national evils set forth in Adam's Vision of Sin and Death.

Milton added to his ideas, powerful in themselves, the crowning glory of poetical expression, which gave them a doubly effective appeal to the eighteenth Century imagination. The power of his appeal was felt to be a molding force in public life. Milton was exalted, above Locke, by William J. Mickle, (1735-1788), in an argument of two closely printed pages, and poetry in general was considered superior to philosophy as a civilizer. When Mickle came to define that powerful poetry, he appealed to Milton, as an authority in the Tractate, and as an example in Paradise Lost, for an exposition of what true and effective poetry must contain.[50]

Milton's ideas worked out their political influence largely through the Whig Party, which was the rendezvous of liberalism, and republican tendencies. Within this party, and through its influence, Paradise Lost had received its first great national recognition and applause. Within this party, Toland, Joseph Washington, and others, in the last decade of the seventeenth Century, had recommended Milton's Prose Writings as important to the cause of liberty; and, a generation later, that group of liberals, led by such men as Birch, Baron, and Hollis, had, by persistent effort, secured for Milton's Prose Works a wide acceptance with the English reading public. Gradually and persistently, Milton had come to be regarded as a very great source of influence for reforms within the constitutional limitations adhered to by the Whig Party.

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49. Francis B. Gummere. Democracy and Poetry. 1911. pp. 38-43.
It is important to recall, in this connection, that reformers, since Milton's day, have been, as a rule, readers of his works, and of Paradise Lost in particular.

50. Wm. J. Mickle. The Life of Lois De Camoens (1517-1579), Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 21: 598-605. p. 604 note 10. Written in 1775.

This influence, with its ever increasing volume, passed over into the last great period of the eighteenth Century (1763-1801). The refrain of larger liberty was caught up by the passionate enthusiasm of Mrs. Macaulay Graham, the historian, and Milton was at least negatively supported by the historian, William Harris (1720-1770), both of whose writings were widely read. Hollis himself, was, until 1774, a living link between the earlier labours of his party and this later period. Blackburne, another prominent member of the earlier group, who died in 1787, continued to publish and recommend Milton, and was regarded as a sort of national champion of the Poet's honour against the ungoverned assaults of Toryism from the pen of Dr. Johnson.

Birch and Baron had both died in 1766, but their earlier labours in the cause of liberty, which they identified largely with the views of Milton, were received with an appreciation that approached the spirit of public gratitude. Birch was usually mentioned in terms very complimentary. Baron, who was at heart a republican, was, with good reasons, remembered as an example of labour and sacrifice in the advancement of Milton's influence. Baron had spent his income almost entirely in the cause of liberty. At his own expense, he had printed an edition of the Eikonoclastes. This edition was published , for the benefit of Baron's needy family, in 1770, with the following praiseworthy comment upon the public spirited editor:

> "No heart ever glowed with a more ardent and generous warmth in the cause of religious and civil liberty than Mr. Baron's. He wrote, he published and republished perpetually in its defence." The writer cited, with approval, Baron's estimate of Milton, as "perhaps the greatest (genius) that ever appeared among men. He had the highest sense of liberty, glorious thoughts, with a strong and nervous style. His works are full of wisdom, a treasure of knowledge." 51

With such emphasis. persistently laid upon Milton's views, one is not very surprised to find that Milton came to be regarded as a champion of those reforms within the State which were felt to be necessary during the last decades of the

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51. Mo. Rev. April, 1771. 44: 334-336.

eighteenth century.[52] Nor is one surprised to find that political radicalism, which sprang up mainly within the Whig Party, and grew into a powerful independent movement, felt, in a powerful way, the influence of Milton. This great poet and political writer, at that time so popular with the English people, had himself a century before stood for very radical measures in Church and State. There was, therefore, a natural bond of sympathy between Milton, and such radicals as Rousseau and Godwin, Paine and Mirabeau, who stood, in various ways, for the subverting of the existing order of society and government. At least three of these leaders of radicalism were students of Milton; and they seem to show altogether many traces of radical influence from his Prose Works and Paradise Lost. Perhaps it was the radicalism of Milton, speaking through eighteenth century radicals, which convinced Thomas Warton that Milton's Prose tended to subvert the present institutions of the nation.[53]

Political radicalism in the eighteenth century had a positive and a negative side, both of which probably received heavy influence from Milton. On the negative side, their very radicalism, formed a point of contact between the radicals and the radical movement of the seventeenth century. Radical writers, as a rule, would naturally sympathize with the overthrow of the government in the Civil War, and would no less naturally turn to Milton, the great hind of that radical movement, who was regarded by the liberal element of their own countrymen, as an oracle of social and political wisdom, for a popular support of their own ungoverned extremes.

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52. Gray felt that there was permanent value in Milton's Panegyric, the De Pace, Areopagitica, and the Advice to Philip, but it must be distinguished from his occasional opinions of things. Letter to The Rev. Norton Nicholls April 14, 1770. Works (Gosse). 1884. III, 360. Gregorio Leti, Life of Cromwell, called him "the Tyrant without vices," and declared Milton's praise upon Cromwell not more than he deserved. Cr. Rev. Feb., 1783. 55: 155n. Cf. Appendix .

53. Milton's Poems, 1791. Preface, xiii-xiv. These strictures of Warton were answered by Wm. Hayley, in the Dedication of his Life of Milton (1794), inscribed to Joseph Warton. Cited by the Mo. Rev. 1796. 100(19): 253.

The logical connections of thought and influence seem to be close. Milton had contended for revolution of government. Later radicals went to the extreme of subverting government as essentially an evil. Milton had gone back of the Constitution to justify the riddance of a bad king.[54] Later radicals appealed to what they considered first principles in an attempt to overthrow the institution of kingship. The sanction of such extremes may have been felt in Paradise Lost, where Milton drew his Pandemonium with an eye upon the debased Court of Charles II., pictured the Infernal Organization as sort of political heirarchy, and Satan himself as an Oriental despot, who felt that

"To rule is worth ambition, though in Hell." [55]

Milton had also found the Church of his day inadequate to the demands of true spiritual liberty, and had laid the responsibility of this condition at the door of priest and presbyter. This charge appeared in its generalized form in the writings of eighteenth century radicals, who attached religious organizations of all times. The whole order of the church was held to be a source of social evils, an institution that had gradually sprung up under the direction of leaders who were bent upon oppression. The republication of Milton's Tracts upon the Church was an index of his importance in this connection, while the simple worship portrayed in Paradise Lost had ever operated upon the liberal imagination toward the same conclusions.

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54. "When, indeed, you cut off a king's head you have to appeal to general principles. Constitutional principles are not available. Milton had to claim indefeasible rights for the people, and men like honest John Lilburne, used language which anticipated Paine's Rights of Man." Leslie Stephen, Hobbes. pp. 205-206.

55. Paradise Lost. I, 262. Cf. also II, 1-6; 43 ff; 378; 446; 510.
This obnoxious aspect of Satan's character was not unfelt and not unapplied. Bonaparte, turned conqueror, was compared to Satan, and the results to British possessions in India ##### from Bonaparte's proposed invasion of the East were compared to the results of Satan's passage over the Bridge through Chaos to the Earth. Eyles Irwin, Esq., Buonoparte in Egypt: or, An Appendix to the Enquiry into his Supposed Expedition to the East (1798). Mo. Rev. Jan., 1799. 109(28): 113-114.

The leading radicals of the eighteenth century believed in the inherent goodness of human nature, which was able from within to control the conduct of life. All government was, therefore, in the nature of a restraint upon the inner rights of man; a view that seems easily traceable to Milton, whose conception of man has here been shorn of its inner and essential divinity. In the eighteenth century view, unqualified liberty of the individual was the ideal; and some even held that government of any kind was an evil, to be endured only for the restraint of fools.

To argue these convictions most advantageously, political theorists called for a return to an imaginary "state of nature," where there were no governments, and no need for them. From these early imaginary and ideal conditions, the philosophical politicians undertook to build up various theories of the origin and development of society and government, always intending to show thereby the origin and development of disorder and distress. There was a certain general union between these philosophical problems of social evil and the great problem of evil treated in Paradise Lost, which itself looked at the problem from the standpoint of an ideal "state of innocence."

Moreover, Milton had looked at the development of social evils, in somewhat the same manner as that of the philosophical radicals, in Adam's Vision of Sin and Death (Paradise Lost, Bk. XI). Milton is nowhere to be understood as being in opposition to law and order, and the restraints of government righteously administered. But in this Vision, he has attributed the evils of society to the operation of certain vicious principles which the later radicals supposed to be the vices of modern organizations of church and state.

Milton attributed the fruits of sin, in the murder of Abel, to that principle of religious"envy" which needed only to be magnified to national proportions to produce an Inquisition (423-470). Next Milton unfolded the Lazar-house scene, with its melancholy aspect of pain and misery, due to the intemper-

ance of high life and fast living (471-526). After this, and perhaps with meaning in the proportions of space, he gave a brief view of old age, and natural decay, as a cause of death (527-554).

In the next long section of the Vision, Milton deals directly with the corruption of society. He always held that the proper destiny of the individual was conditioned upon the outworking of an inner principle of superior power. In like manner, the happiness and true destiny of society was conditioned upon the free play of this first principle of life and destiny. In organized life, as in the individual, the operation of this principle must be the first concern of the social unit. This principle must not be neglected; it must not be submerged by other engrossing interests. To lose the proper emphasis of life, is everywhere to open the flood gates of corruption. With Milton, of course, the paramount principle of life was always a religious principle.

When Milton described the corruption of the "sons of God" by the "daughters of Cain," he attributed the result to the highly "civilized" life that comes from whole devotion to arts and sciences, to the neglect of the higher and better concerns of life. The seducers were described as dwelling in the pleasant "tents of wickedness;" and

> Studious they appear
> Of arts that polish life, inventors rare;
> Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
> Taught them.

By this class of corrupters, the "just men," whose whole study was to worship God aright, and know his works not hid (578), were entrapped, and that, however, only when they had prostituted "wisdom, and superior gifts," that had in themselves saving power (555-636).

In like manner, Milton pictured the standards of war as equally degenerating (638-710). Warriors were to him "death's ministers, not men!" (679). War was the work of those who hold that <u>might is right</u>, and increase their power by the conquest and the spoils of nations.

In those days might only shall be admired,
And valour and heroic virtue called.
To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Manslaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and, for glory done,
Of triumph to be styled great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods---
Destroyers rightlier called, and Plagues of men.
Thus fame shall be achieved, renown on earth,
And what most merits fame in silence hid.
(689-699).

The fruitage of war was conceived to be social distress. As a result of conquest, power, luxury, and consequent degeneracy, were the portion of the mighty, while slavery and degeneracy were the lot of the conquered.

In triumph and luxurious wealth are they
First seen in acts of prowess eminent
And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
Who, having spilt much blood, and done much waste,
Subduing nations, and achieved thereby
Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
Surfeit, and lust, till wantonness and pride
Raise out of friendship hostile deeds in peace.
The conquered, also, and enslaved by war,
Shall, with their freedom lost, all virtue lose,
And fear of God. (788-799).

Milton also regarded wealth itself as potentially at least a great source or cause of social degeneracy. The result is inevitable, when men turn from the higher ideals of life. Then wealth becomes a corrupter of men and nations.

For the Earth shall bear
More than enough, that temperance may be tried.
So all shall turn degenerate, all depraved,
Justice and temperance, truth and faith, forgot.
(804-807).

All this Vision in Milton sounds very much like the schedule of social development laid out for the Race, by philosophical politicians, who insisted upon viewing the problem from the stand-point of an original perfect "state of nature." In their thought, society grew worse as it became more complicated. Political governments and ecclesiastical orders, with their conquests and inquisitions, were the instruments of oppression and tyranny. The rise of kings

and priests meant luxury on the one hand, and slavery on the other, with degeneracy on both. Society, in the modern sense, enthroned custom, the conventional, instead of conscience, as the control of life. Civilization fosters crime. Wealth centralized in the hands of an individual, leads to power, oppression, intemperance, and degeneracy, on the one hand, and to poverty, and crime, on the other. The first great champion of these general views was Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his Arts and Sciences (1750), and Rousseau was a student of Paradise Lost.[56] So also were Godwin, and others, who advocated the same idea of a return to "nature" in order to develop the rights and wrongs of men.

But the philosophical radicals, on the positive side of their theories, looked forward, even more than backward. They felt that the democratic form of government was the only form that could be tolerated, and they believed that that form was soon to be adopted. They were convinced that the doom of monarchies was near at hand, and that the Golden Age of Liberty was beginning to dawn. Their dreams of the new world of Liberty were greatly influenced by the earlier dreams of Milton. At his feet, England, and even the Continent, had taken many lessons in the principles and outlines of a free Church and State, of free thought and expression. The outworking of those principles in England, and more openly in France, directed those nations to the larger liberties which were realized in the nineteenth century. Few forces have ever been more fruitful in the cause of larger liberty, than the ideal dreams of Milton.

Professor Dowden has already been quoted (Chapter I., p. 16) as saying that Milton's "influence on thought, appearing at irregular intervals, but always associated with political liberalism or radicalism" was connected chiefly with his Prose Writings." But it would seem indeed that proportions of Milton's influence can never be determined with a great degree of certainty. His Prose

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56. Joseph Texte, Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Cosmopolitan Spirit in Literature. pp. 111, 359.

Writings were undoubtedly influential, as appears from the number of times in which some portion of his Prose were published during the rise of radicalism. But during the period of the French Revolution (1788-1801), Paradise Lost appeared in no less than twenty-one editions,--- which represented a demand for the Poem scarcely precedented in the history of its publication.

The long, persistent, powerful, influence of Paradise Lost upon the verse-form of the eighteenth century, is among the more obvious forces that made for Romanticism. Gradually the imitations of his blank verse multiplied, and rose to the popular heights of Thomson, Young, and others, by the middle of the century. Gradually his critical authority in The Verse was recognized and observed. Gradually the idea of verse structure conformed to his own liberal conceptions. Much of this progress of liberal versification was due to the influence of Paradise Lost, which did more than any other single source of influence toward the overthrow of the couplet.

After the powerful support of blank verse in the long poems prior to 1765, and in the critical authority of Warton, Young, Webbe, and others, the strength of the couplet was broken, and rhyme was limited, in progressive thought, to the sphere of the smaller kinds of poetry. This last period of the century (1765-1801) opened, therefore, with a feeling of confidence in the triumph of the blank verse movement, of which Milton was still regarded the central influence.

There was, on the whole, a persistent movement, throughout this period, toward liberalism in versification.[57] The critical opinions of Young and others, in the preceding period, re-inforced by an immediate appeal to Milton, were widely received as the highest authority. Dr. James Beattie (1735-1803), who figured much in the public eye because of his Essay on Truth (1770),[58] a work which

57. T.S.Omond, English Metrists, 18th. and 19th. Centuries. Oxford Press, 1907. Chapter II develops the conflict, and shows a tendency toward liberality in the direction of "The New Verse," which he discusses in Chapter III.
58. H.A.Beers, A Hist. Of Eng. Romanticism in the 18th. Cent., p. 302-305,

has an aggregate of seventy-five pages devoted to Paradise Lost, declared, in that popular Treatise, that regularity and rhyme were not essential to poetry, and that the proper use of rhyme was limited to a small sphere.[59]

Within its proper limits, some regarded rhyme as an acceptable ornament to verse, as in The Deserted Village (1770), by Goldsmith: but a favourable critic of that popular poem seemed to feel very keenly the limitations imposed upon rhyme,[60] This feeling forced itself, at times, upon those who believed in general that rhyme was essential to English poetry. One such critic, who boldly declared himself "no friend to blank verse," could not"refuse (his) warmest approbation" to A Poetical Essay on the Existence of God, "which was written in Miltonics." [61] William H. Roberts had, therefore, the support of a widely accepted opinion, when he, in that spirited and popular poetical Epistle to Christopher Anstey (1773), limited "the use of rhyme to elegaic, lyric, and satiric poetry." [62]

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58. (Cont'd from last page). gives a brief, but delightful, sketch of Beattie.

59. By "versification" he means regular measure. Essay on Truth, 1777. II, 294, 302, He contended that the advantages of rhyme depend much upon custom and national temper. Cf. also pp. 379-383.

60. Cr. Rev. June, 1770. 29: 435-443.

61. This Essay was the work of Rev.W.Roberts.Cr.Rev.Jan.,1771. 31: 71-73.

62. Roberts, Wm. H. (1745-1791) ~~1773.~~

An Epistle to Christopher Anstey, Esq. (1773).

Return, my Muse: thy wild, unfettered strains,
Suit not the mournful dirge. Rhyme tunes the pipe
Of querulous elegy; 'tis rhyme confines
The lawless numbers of the lyric song.
Who shall deny the quick-retorted sound
To satire, when with this she points her scorn,
Darts her sharp shaft, and whets her venom'd fang?
Pent in the close of some strong period stands
The victims blasted name: the kindred note
First stamps it on the ear; then oft recalls
To memory, what were better wrapt at once
In dark oblivion. Still unrivalled here
Pope thro' his rich dominion reigns alone:
Pope, whose immortal strains Thames echoes yet
Thro' all his winding banks. He smoothed the verse,

The influence of Milton's Verse was conspicuous in the decade between 1770 and 1780. Roberts made his appeal direct to Milton, when he said, (1773)

> No, not in rhyme; I hate that iron chain
> Forged by the hand of some rude Goth.
> (Trib. 156).

The author of An Essay upon the Harmony of Language (1774),[63] discussed the nature and specific differences between accent and quantity, and illustrated these by a minute analysis of several passages from Paradise Lost. He "ventured to pronounce rime very disadvantageous to heroic verse; excluding numberless beauties, giving none." This author, who allowed a place to rhyme, and made due allowance for "the high merit of Pope's version of the Iliad," supported the above claim by reference directly to Milton.

The same direct appeal was made by the Rev. John Yourde, in his Essay on the Origin and Merits of Rhyme (1775). In his zeal for the liberal form of versification, he "disdainfully renounces the shackles of rhyme" in his Translation of the Adventures of Telemachus (1775).[64] Thomas Sheridan, in his popular Lectures on the Art of Reading (1775, 1781), seems to have regarded Milton, especially in Paradise Lost, as the ultimate authority on English versification. In Part II of these Lectures, which deals with "The Art of Reading Verse," Sheridan examined the present state of English prosody, affirmed that English verse is composed of feet by accent, and declared that none but Milton and Dryden had gone into the mystery of numbers. The "admired verse" (of all others) "proceed wholly from the ear and imitation." But he showed a decided preference for Milton, drew heavily upon Paradise Lost for poetic materials, and applauded

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62. (Cont'd from last page)

> Tuned its soft cadence to the classic ear
> And gave to rhyme the dignity of song.

Cr. Rev. Jan., 1773. 35: 52-54. Mo. Rev. Feb., 1773. 48: 145-148.

63. Reprinted, with slightly varied title, 1804, as the work of Wm. Mitford. Cr. Rev. Aug., 1774. 38: 137-143.

64. Cr. Rev. July, 1775. 40: 82.

the richness and variety of Milton's measures above those of all other English poets.[65]

This forward movement was not, however, without a measure of discouraging opposition. There was a sort of sunset glow of the couplet about the end of the third quarter of the century. Certain poems in the couplet, as Goldsmith's Deserted Village (1770) and Austey's New Bath Guide, were very popular, and much imitated. The reactionary feeling was strong in some quarters, and seems to have had an influence upon James Macpherson (1738-1796), whose earlier Celtic interests had been emphatically Romantic. In 1773, he published a new edition of the Poems of Ossian, and seems to have half apologized for having "yielded to the judgement of others in a mode which presented freedom and dignity of expression, instead of fetters which cramp the thought, whilst the harmony of language is preserved." He felt constrained to justify the want of rhyme, by arguing the gain in simplicity and energy.[66]

Four years earlier (1769), Owen Ruffhead had published his Life of Alexander Pope, in which he professed to find some who preferred Pope to Milton. The Critical Review, commenting on this observation, was quite certain that some with such tastes might be found.[67] The Monthly Review, which seems at times to have antedated Saintsbury's antipathy to all eighteenth century blank verse, sometimes threw its influence heavily on the side of the couplet.

Among the strongest personal forces in this movement of antagonism to liberal versification, was Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802). At heart, he seems to

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65. Lectures on the Art of Reading. Part II. p. 223 and passim. Cf. also the Cf. Rev. July, 1775. 40:37-45., for a popular summary of this work.

66. The Poems of Ossian. 2 vols. New ed. 1773. See ed. 1807. Preface, dated Aug. 13, 1773. pp. v, vi.

67. Cr. Rev. April, 1769. 27: 280-289. This view of Pope may well be contrasted with that in the criticism of Gilbert Wakefield's Obs. on Pope (1796). Wakefield was himself a Pope enthusiast. But the Critical Review (March, 1796. n.s. 2: 257-264) says, "We confess that, when he puts the invention discoverable in the Dunciad, on a par with that of Paradise Lost ... . we rather wonder than applaud."

have hated all blank verse. Like Johnson, Darwin directed his antipathies toward the fountain head of the liberal movement. He might tolerate the more regular blank verse of Akenside, but not that of Milton. Darwin hated all sonnets, and especially those of Milton. His poetical creed was regularity and rhyme, to which he would add polish and sonorous effects. In 1781, Darwin proved the courage of his convictions by publishing his ambitious work, The Botanic Garden, a poem of 4,334 lines in the most orthodox type of heroic couplets. His ambition was to erect a poetical monument that should eclipse the glory of Pope, by improving upon his versification along the lines of polish and sonorous qualities.[68]

Miss Anna Seward contributed the Exordium for this poem as early as 1778.[69] While in the process of preparation, the poem seems to have been talked of to some extent; and, having been thus advertised beforehand, the poem met with a generous applause. Dr. Johnson may have deliberately taken advantage of this momentary revival of the old poetical form and spirit, for his political attack upon Milton (1779), whose influence upon versification had been more than a match for the couplet.

Johnson's attack, however, only served to rouse the liberal forces, who had not all slept meantime, nor wanted confidence. Mason, who recognized that blank verse "was growing much out of vogue," deliberately wrote his English Garden (1781) in that measure.[70] Knox, who seems to have preferred rhyme, affirmed, with an eye on Dr. Johnson, the presence of "an unreasonable prejudice entertained against blank verse, by those who wish to dictate on the subject of criticism," and ascribed to this prejudice the unpopularity of Mason's English Garden.[71] About the time that Johnson was meditating his attack, Alexander Kell-

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68. F. Hitchman, Eighteenth Century Studies, p. 379.

69. Dict. Natl. Biog. "Anna Seward (1747-1809)."

70. Wm. Mason, The English Garden. Postscript. Quoted in the Mo. Rev. June, 1782. 66: 413. Appendix .

71. Vicessimus Knox (1752-1821). On the Prevailing Taste in Poetry (1779). Essays Moral and Literary. No. 129.

et thundered into the camp of the couplets the following piece of dogmatism, which the Critical Review seems to have quoted with special delight at this time. After discussing the fundamental distinctions between prose and verse, Kellet said:

> "In an age of ignorance an expedient turned up, that so obviously distinguished prose and poetry, as to lay claim for a time to constitute the essential of the last; and that was the Gothic invention of rhyme. Then he described this "barbarian adjunct to verse" in a long quotation from Milton's Preface). For though they be not wanting who would make the hitting-off of rhymes an affair of genius, it is strictly a matter of memory; of which he who knows all the chiming words in a language must be a complete master; and Bysshe's rhyming dictionary is, with us, a very convenient supplement to less tenacious heads." [72]

The violence of Johnson brought Cowper at once to the defence of Milton's more liberal versification. Cowper informed the public, with proof out of Johnson's own mouth, that the great Dictator could not read blank verse.[73] Cowper's Table Talk (Written 1780-1). Leslie Stephens considers, "in the attack upon Pope's smoothness and the admiration of Churchill's rough vigour, the first clear manifesto of the literary revolution afterwards led by Wordsworth."[74] But most effective of all his arguments was Cowper's Task, written in blank verse, and published in 1785, a poem sufficiently effective to start the new line of Milton-Cowper imitations.

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72. A Pocket of Prose and Verse (1778). Cr. Rev. Dec.,1778. 46: 456-461.
The "rhyming dictionary" idea was in the air at that time, and seems to have been used as a taunt toward the couplet-writers. In 1775, J. Walker published A Dict. of the Eng. Lang., answering at once the Purposes of Rhyming, Spelling, &c. (Cr. Rev. 39:116). This work was spoken of in 1779 as a "Dict. of Rhimes for the Use of Small Poets." (Cr. Rev. 48: 119). A little later the Rev. John Trusler published Poetic Endings: or, a Dict. of Rhimes, Single and Double. This was ironically reviewed as a work of "benevolence to a set of geniuses, who frequently want a little charitable assistance, that is, the minor poets," (Cr. Rev. Jan., 1784. 57: 79).

73. Wm. Cowper (1731-1800). To the Rev. Walter Bagot, Feb. 6, 1791. Hayley's Life of Cowper, 1812. III, 270-271. He allowed rhyme to be a "part of the conceit" in smaller poems. Corresp. with Lord Thurlow. Hayley's Life. III, 346-355. To The Rev. Walter Bagot. Aug. 31, 1786; Jan. 4, 1791. Hayley's Life, III, 29-30, 264.

74. Dictionary National Biography. "Cowper".

In 1781 John Walker (1732-1807) gave specific instructions for the reading of blank verse.[75] The same year Sheridan's Lectures on the same subject were reprinted. The next year Dr. Joseph Warton published the second volume on Pope, on the authority of which Tyrwhitt suggested, with a touch of irony, that "one may perhaps venture to avow an opinion that poetry is not confined to rhyming couplets."[76] With these rejoinders, the victory seemed complete, and the liberal critics turn their attention more directly to the study of blank verse in itself, with much less reference to the old controversy. By the end of the century, John Aikin was complaining that the poets of the time were not even conforming to the mechanical matters of spelling, punctuation, &c.--all of which was looked upon by him as liberty run riot.[77]

The total influence of Milton's Verse, as it shaped itself under these conditions, appears in at least five different forms. (1) As a war-cry. The Romantic element rallied around Milton, and cultivated his verse-form as an effective medium of expressing antipathy to neo-classicism. (2) As a standard of excellence in the technique of versification. The harmonies of Milton's blank verse became the goal of poetic ambition, and the touchstone of learned criticism. (3) As an expression of authority. This involves the dicta of Milton's "Preface," made good by the example of his Poems. Here is a contradiction, but such is life in many of its expressions. Even the radical Romanticist would bow to the authority of Milton, when he declared rhyme the invention of a barbarous age. Where the heart is, there obedience follows, and authority is not a burden. Besides this, the very bigness of Milton carried conviction, precluding the possibility of mistake, as it would appear to his devotees. (4) As a patte-

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75. Elements of Elocution. 2 vols. 1781 and 1799. Mo. Rev. Aug., 1781; Jan., 1800.

76. Letter prefixed to Warton's Essay on Pope. 5th. ed. Vol. I.

77. John Aikin, Letters of a Father to His Son (1798-1799), Letter v. On the Taste for Poetry. Vol. II, p. 259.

ern for imitation. Under the influence of Milton there was a very large volume of blank verse, whose highest peaks of excellence were sufficiently elevated for permanent recognition. (5) As a sanction of poetical license in matters of form, Milton was not under the laws of poetry, for he enjoyed the liberty of a great creative genius. But this very superiority served as a sanction for some to abandon all restraints that hindered the free expression of the multi-form romantic feelings. This amounts again to a contradiction--that of looking to authority for sanction of a revolt against the restraints of authority. But the impulse of this principle produced much that is wild, vague, and incoherent, as well as some excellent original work in the Romantic Movement.

In the field of literary criticism, Milton was considered by many a standard of excellence.[78] He was set by the side of Homer,[79] and sometimes above the Grecian Bard (cf. Tributes). There was among his devotees a strong feeling of impatience with any attempt to write Milton down.[80] The widely prevailing opinion was, that "If any glance of mortal Ken could soar from earth to heaven, or penetrate the mysteries of other worlds, it may fairly be pronounced, even by English critics, without any imputation of partiality, that the poet of Paradise possessed the peculiar power." [81]

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78. Milton was also regarded as an authority onthe early conditions of poetry, as portrayed in P.L. On the antiquity of the pastoral muse, Greene says, "Whether the patriarchs of old with our parents in Milton piously broke out into the praise of the Creator, or reflected in silence on the beauties of ~~the~~ the earth, their hymns, or their meditations, must have been purely pastoral." An Essay on Pastoral Poetry, prefixed to the Idyllium of Theocritus, Translated by Fawkes (1767). Chalmers, Eng.Poets, 20: 166-169.

79. Rev. Richard. Polwhele. An Essay on the Comparative Learning and Morality of the Ancients and Moderns. Appended to Discourses on Different Subjects (2nd. ed. 1791). Cr. Rev. Aug., 1791, 368-373.

80. An offense of this kind, in his Elementary Principles of the Belles Lettres, Translated from the French by the late Mr. Sloper Foreman(1766), was held to prove M. Formey unqualified to treat the subject he had in hand. Cr. Rev. July, 1766. 22: 50-55.

81. The Indian Observer. Nos. 20 and 34. Drake's Gleaner, vol. IV, No. 168, p. 255. On the Power of Music.

The poet and the poem that had attained this eminence were, with several important critics, the basis for measuring poetic values in the works of others. The Critical Review, recognizing that most writers of blank verse were seriously striving to imitate Milton, attempted frequently to determine to what extent these writers had, or had not, attained the qualities of Milton's verse. Paradise Lost, as a basis for verse criticism, was the out-working of Milton's Preface on versification, prefixed to the Epic, and the two were taken together, as a rule. To this high authority, as a hypothetical basis upon which to censure the works of Spenser, Dr. Johnson made an appeal in 1751. "If it be justly observed by Milton," argued the Doctor, "that rhyme obliges poets to express their thoughts in improper terms, these improprieties must always be multiplied, as the difficulty of rhyme is increased by long concatenations." [82]

Thomas Warton, in his History of English Poetry,[83] extended the application of this Miltonic standard to the subject of English poetry. Warton's references to Milton are many; and, so far as Hazlitt's Index (ed. 1871) shows, they are all to Paradise Lost, except two, which are to Comus. William J. Mickle, who published his Translation of the Lusiad of Camoens (1775), included among other things in the Prefatory Matters of that performance, A Dissertation on the Lusiad, and Observations upon Epic Poetry. In this discussion, he practically measured the Lusiad of Camoens by the Paradise Lost of Milton.[84] In a less pretentious manner, William Mason, who observed that Milton's father and Gray's were of the same calling ("a money-scrivener"), subjected Gray to the standards very largely of Paradise Lost, in his edition of Gray (1775).[85] Even the diction of Milton's Epic became a standard for poetry, and was praised for

82. The Rambler, No. 121. May 14, 1751. Works, 1825. II, 5.

83. Thomas Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetry. Vol. I, 1774; II, 1778; III, 1781.

84. Chalmers English Poets, 21: 606-624.

85. Cf. the Foot-notes, and the Cr. Rev. May, 1775. 39: 378-388.

having the simplicity of common life.[86]

The great literary influence of Paradise Lost lies chiefly in its manifold contact with the inner spirit of Romantic literature and literary interests. This unique poem, sublime, moral, universal, imaginative, mystical, was remarkably fitted to touch effectively all sides of the re-awakened literary spirit of the Age.

The wide interests in this poem fell directly across certain currents of the literary movement. The Oriental element in the Epic is obvious, and was not unobserved. Its earthly setting was in the romantic regions of Eden. Its coloring and gorgeous splendor are largely from the East. Its inexhaustible wealth of Allusion points frequently in the same direction. These features, quickened the romantic imagination into a glow, and formed an immediate contact, stimulative, if not actually productive, with that strong current of Orientalism, which came in early, and persisted throughout the century.

One aspect of Orientalism that had more than common interest was that of the Eastern gardens. Those paradises had a romantic interest of their own. That interest was deepened by their constant association with Milton's Eden. That interest was translated into practical life through the influence of Oriental gardens upon English landscape gardening, an activity upon which Milton's Eden exercised considerable direct influence.[87] Thus the circle of interest was completed, and made trebly strong between Milton and this phase of Orientalism.

Milton, Gothic, and Medieval Romances belong in something of the same manner to the romantic world of the imagination. There is a strong affinity between some of the "most inflamed" passages of Milton and the Gothic spirit in chivalry. This affinity was felt in the eighteenth century, as Professor Beers,

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86. Wm. Roberts (1767-1849). The Looker-On. No. 78. Nov. 9, 1793. Brit. Essayists, 1823. 37: No. 78. S. T. Coleridge. Biographia Literaria, ed. Shedd, Vol. III, Chap. xvii.

87. Appendix I, p. 323 .

who speaks with authority on the Revival-elements of Romanticism, has very well pointed out.[88] The pseudo-classical attitude toward the Gothic strengthened its early alliance with the Romantic tendencies: while Milton's Romantic predilections for the Gothic brought him and the Gothic Revival close together.

The connections between Milton and the Revival of Medieval Romances were close, and probably fruitful. Milton's literary tastes inclined him early in life toward this romantic world of the imagination. "I betook me," he wrote in An Apology for Smectymnus, "among those lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood." Deeply interested in this poetic wealth, he meditated the Arthurian legends as the subject of his own proposed masterpiece (Mansus, lines 80-84, 162-168). This subject was finally given up for Paradise Lost, which is essentially a larger Romance, with a limitless imaginative and other-world appeal.

But the "matter of Britain," as Professor Beers has very well pointed out, never lost its fascination to Milton, and re-appeared in both of his Epics.[89] In Paradise Lost, one may find such stimulating references as,

> What resounds
> In fable or romance of Uther's son;
> Begirt with British and Armoric knights;
> And all who since, baptized or infidel,
> Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban;
> Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebiscond;
> Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore
> When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
> By Fontarabbia." (Book I, 579-587).

Or, in Paradise Regained, where,

> Faery damsels met in forest wide
> By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
> Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore."
> Book II, 359-361.

The supernatural in Milton was always prominent, and the fairyland world-of-romance character of Paradise Lost was sometimes regarded a blemish in

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88. A Hist. of Eng. Romanticism, 225-227.

89. Same, pp. 146-147.

the Epic. In view of this feeling, and the avidity with which the details of Milton were even curiously studied, such connecting links between him and Medievalism, as those cited above, must have been very stimulating to the reviving interest in that Middle Age world of the imagination.

Paradise Lost was not without considerable influence upon the descriptive tendencies in Romantic poetry. The volume of descriptive poetry, in both the great schools of versification, was increasingly immense. The pseudo-classical faction found their consta[illegible] model in Cooper's Hill (1642), by Sir John Denham (1615-1669). This poem, in heroic couplets, represented the poet as looking out from an eminence upon the surrounding country, and river, and city. The poem was popular, and the scheme of description was often repeated in the eighteenth century. But the romantic spirit of wildness, coupled with that of liberalism in verse-form, found excellence and inspiration in the descriptive portions of Paradise Lost. The tendency of this influence was toward a union with mysticism, and a mystical interpretation of external nature. More and more it became the Miltonic sun, far off at times but still effective, that warmed the romantic ladnscape with the glow of poetry.

But deeper than anything yet mentioned, was the quickening influence of Milton's Epic upon the very spirit of poetry. The spirit of Paradise Lost permeated, as far as the shackles would allow, the serious heroic couplets of the age. Any one may feel that spirit while reading such poems as Boyse's Deity (1739), or almost any other religious or moral poem of the eighteenth century. Among the Romantic poets, the kindling power of Milton's imagination was immeasurable.

Here is one of the most fundamental and important differences between the influence of the Minor Poems and that of the Major. The Minor Poems influenced mainly the outward form and expression of sentiments that were already strong in the nation before these Poems emerged into prominence. But the influence of the Major Poems reached and quickened the secret springs where

poetry is generated and whence it flows. Limited to the question of form, the molding influence of the Epic far exceeded that from the Minor Poems, whether the comparison have reference to volume or quality. But on measurement of quality is obviously impossible; for the poetic spirit of many imitations of the Minor Poems came directly from the quickening influence of Milton's Epic. This is strikingly evident in Collins, and Gray, and often in the Wartons, and almost always in Ogilvie, and Beattie, and Mason. It is the hand of Penseroso, to be sure; but the voice is that of Paradise Lost, often faint, but unmistakable nevertheless.

Romanticism always exalted the imaginative element in literature, and a large influence in this direction came from Paradise Lost. Milton, in theory, practice, and inspiration, comes more and more definitely to stand for the perfection of imaginative poetry, as conceived by the Romantic school. This school emphasized the subjective and self-conscious elements in literature. Mr. Dowden is quite right in defining these elements as relics of Puritanism transfused through Paradise Lost.[90] Closely akin to these, was the spirit of expansiveness which characterized all the ambitious attempts of Romantic aspiration, and demanded the freedom of expression found in blank verse. This, too, may at times be traced to the influence of Milton, upon Romantic feelings. Much of the verse thus produced was very poor poetry; for every soul kindled to a glow by Milton's influence was not the soul of a poet. Those who had poetic genius, had also a measure of individuality that is stamped upon their verse. In a sense, it is correct, therefore, to say that the verse of Thomson, Young, and Akenside, is not the verse of Milton, and that their thoughts are not his thoughts. But it is quite incorrect to say that any aspiring spirit of the whole school, whether great or small, wrote apart from the boundless influence of Milton; and to deny that the more lofty the individual genius the more he has felt the real power

90. Edw. Dowden. Puritanism and English Literature. Living Age, 1898. 222: 593-607.

of his matchless master.

The influence of Milton upon the didactic and purely religious element in the eighteenth century poetry was direct, powerful, and almost entirely from Paradise Lost. Milton stood for Aristotelian conception of poetic art, that poetry was to please and to instruct, but with the heavier emphasis upon the latter function. He had but one standard for the poet, for poetic theory, and for poetic practice. Within his own soul, and throughout all his Prose and Verse, the reader is conscious of an uncompromising struggle between Milton and the Powers of Darkness. The battle is ever in array. As conceived by Milton, the consecrated office of the poet made him a prophet of God, the herald of ideals that knew no compromise with evil.

As seen, therefore, from this angle, by the moralizing eighteenth century, Milton was not only the greatest of all poets, but he was greatest very largely because he was felt to be the greatest preacher of reighteousness. Gradually the English public had come to this conviction through the contemplation of Milton's great social, political, and spiritual message to the world. In this capacity Milton became, as in other things, a poetic example and inspiration. To him, perhaps more than to any other single force, is chargeable the heavy moral yoke that was placed upon poetry during the eighteenth century. Under his influence the religious Parnassus became a theological seminary; and the poetic muse entered the common walks of life as a formal school-mistress, discoursing, in endless blank verse, about the arts, and ornaments, and duties of life. The tendency to paraphrase exalted portions of Scripture, to sermonize thereon in blank verse, and to write endless moral and biblical epics in the same measure, were products, in part at least, of the same fruitful influence.

This influence was connected closely with that "high seriousness" of Milton's poetic art which impressed, with increasing force, the developing mind

of Romanticism.[91] Milton was a man with a soul-absorbing devotion to an exalted ideal, which rendered him superior to the vicissitudes of time and place. This seriousness of art worked its way gradually into the consciousness of England under the towering influence of Milton. The conviction found something that approaches classical expression in the following words of Vicesimus Knox (1752-1821), which are all the more interesting in that they fall, in 1783, mid-way between Milton (d. 1674) and Matthew Arnold (d. 1888).

> "Let the man of genius love his muse, and his muse shall reward him with sweet sensations: with pictures and images of beautiful nature, and with a noble generosity of spirit which can look down with pity, contempt, or total indifference on patrons who have often as little sense to understand, as liberality to reward him." "Milton was poor and unpatronized, and so was Shakespeare. A miserable pittance bought that poem which is one of the first honours, not only of this nation, but of human nature. But is it not credible, that Milton and Shakespeare had internal delights, a luxury of soul, which is unknown to the dull tribe who are often rewarded with pensions and promotions, and which many patrons, with all their pomp and power, would envy, if they were capable of conceiving the exquisite pleasure." [92]

The explanation of Milton's influence upon the currents of eighteenth century life which made up the Romantic movement is not to be found in any small view, or isolated segment, of the great work of this man, whose labours as politician, historian, and theologian, were crystallized in the artistic hands of the consecrated poet. The secret of his power was the unity of his message, the permeating, soul-stirring, life-directing, influence that arose from a contemplation of Milton's vision of the moral order of the universe.

Milton's vision of moral order lent itself readily to romantic feelings. It furnished a boundless progressive out-let for aspirations, whether individual, social, or national. Milton was an idealist, a dreamer of better

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91. It is interesting to observe that Milton had a well defined "literary gospel", in the later sense of that term. Had he lived in the nineteenth century, he would have taken his proper place with a message, among such writers as Carlyle, Mill, Kingsley, Newman, and others, who had their various remedies for social ills.

92. Brit. Essaysits, 1827. vol. xxix. No. 4, p. 35. Cf. also a criticism of Beattie's Essay on Truth, which considered instruction, and not pleasure the "grand purpose" of poetry. Cr.Rev. March, 1778. 45: 185.

days and better things than England had ever yet attained. His power over the Romantic movement from this point of view was inevitable.

The ancient Hebrews dreamed upon their national Theocracy, and in time saw the Shekinah fill the Holy Temple.[93] Greece had her ideals of beauty, dreamed upon them, and realized her destiny as the world's example and instructor in Art. Rome dreamed of law and order, and merged the civilized world into one vast organization. The Renaissance had its various dreams, and attained Protestantism, with its various forms of intellectual freedom. England, too, had had her Vision, worked out in the long struggle that culminated in the Civil War of the seventeenth century, and revealed to the nation through the prophetic insight of Milton, who felt the universal significance of that struggle. He saw in it the struggling principles that make for universal liberty. Those principles he bodied forth a comprehensive conception of liberty, limited to no nation, but possible to all, which might have brought England to the fulfillment of her destiny, in teaching the world Liberty, as the Hebrews had taught Religion, the Greeks Art, and the Romans Law and Organization.

But unheeding the lessons of history, England had scorned her Vision. She erected altars to Baal and Ashtaroth in the high places of politics, and went a-whoring after royalty that was stranger to her Vision. In spite of warning, the Vision was lost to the nation; and "where there is no vision, the people perish." Seventy Years of Babylonish captivity was the result: seventy years of national bondage to the disintegrating forces of death and decay. But the faithful remnant carried the altar-fires into the land of depression, and kept them dimly burning. They kept the Vision distantly in sight. Though their harps hung upon the willow trees, yet they "remembered Zion;" and refused to bow the knee to King Nebuchadnezzar. The Daniels thundered the old truth into the courts. The Ezekiels, among the common people, still saw the River of Life. Thus was the way prepared for a voluntary return to their national destiny, when the days of evil were fulfilled.

Gradually the leavening power of Milton's Vision was felt, as the nation cast about in the depths for relief from depression. Gradually the Vision of Milton glowed more brightly, as the Miltonic Sun rose in the Romantic heavens, and warmed the nation into a newness of life. This is not claiming too much; for the Romantic movement may almost be defined as a returning of the nation to the Vision of Milton, with the aspirations that are consequent and correlated to his exalted conceptions.

The consciousness of national loss in the defeat of Puritanism was kept constantly alive in the body of the nation. The cause itself was lost, but the leavening power of its eternal principles required only sufficient time to re-assert themselves permanently in national life. Milton had dreamed of an ideal Republic, founded upon, and crowned by, the principles that make for universal liberty. Gradually the English people came to feel the significance of this Vision as an out-let for boundless aspiration. The dead nation aroused itself to try the yet untried ideals of national destiny. The leaders sought assurance in similar dreams of the past. They revived Plato, Plutarch, and More's Utopia. Milton was the logical antecedent, if not an immediate inspiration, of this reworking of the dreams of the past.

In the State, Milton's influence tendered ever toward radicalism. More and more men dreamed of a future Golden Age of Democracy, and set themselves against kings. Here one may feel the influence of Milton's arguments for liberty, which helped to kindly the fires of the French Revolution. But his influence upon the Church is only less obvious because more spiritual. Men dreamed also of a Golden Age in religion, as a result, it seems, in part at least, of his inspiration who had so vividly connected Heaven and Earth into one vast realm of the free spirit of man. This ideal was sought by some through a deepening of spiritual life, and Methodism was born. Others saw its realization in

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93. (From last page). I. Kings, 8: 10.

the widening of church activities into world-evangelization, and the great Missionary organizations began to occupy foreign fields. Others still believed this ideal attainable by Divine Power, and connected "Paradise Regained" with the Millennial reign of Christ, when evil should be abolished from the earth. A feeling that Milton, humanly speaking, was an influence in all these forward movements pervaded the life and literature of the eighteenth century.

The scope of Milton's Romantic conception of universal order comprehended all the relations and experiences of life, temporal and eternal. The very grandeur of his conception fired the romantic imagination. Here is where the substance of Milton's Prose Writings merges with that of his Epics into one great composite influence of immeasurable strength, and incapable of being resolved into parts that are referable to one source of influence apart from the other. In one vast sweep of imagination, Milton's Vision covered Man's relations to Man in State and Church, and Man's relation to God in the worlds temporal and eternal. The very bigness of his conceptions counted for power. It matters little, in this connection, what men may now say about the adequacy of Milton's views. Upon eighteenth century life his views fell with the weight of divine sanction, and moved with only a little less authority and inspiration.

Man's relations to Man Milton worked out in the laboratory of civil and ecclesiastical strife. These relations appeared first in his controversial Prose Works. His system worked itself upward into perfection. Doubtless it was this upward movement of his own mind that led him finally to decide upon Paradise Lost as the subject of his great masterpiece. At first he thought to treat the Romantic legend of Arthur, probably intending to expand its shadowy outlines into a portrayal of all that was permanent in the traditions of the English people. But he soon saw that England was not different from other nations. What was the Truth for her, was the Truth for all nations and for all times. His subject then was Mankind, and his scope was Eternity. While he directed the

affairs of a great nation torn with internal strife, and while he defined the rights of Church and State, he worked out the crowning principle of Moral Order. His Vision called for a treatment of Man, and that in his eternal relations. At first Milton thought to treat the problem of Evil as a tragedy. But perceiving soon the limitations of that mode of expression, he rose to the boundless possibilities of an Epic, and in that mode he taxed the powers of language to body forth what he had seen and felt.

Moral order, as conceived by Milton, was conditioned upon the reign of righteousness. God was over all, the Source of all good, and must be obeyed. Departure from this basic principle always brings disorder and punishment. Milton treated his universe as geo-centric, for the purpose of exalting the dignity of Man. Milton laid out before Man infinite possibilities, qualified always by a premium upon merit. Morality implies deliberate choice of the right. Moral order obtains when men and angels serve God; and when all the machinery and influences of society support the free play of obedience in the individual. Order is the universal reign of righteousness, the working out of implicit conformity to Law. Whatever hinders this free conformity is a disturbing element that should be abolished. Thus Milton enthroned individual interest as the factor that should determine the function of Church and State.

This idea of obedience and conformity to law would seem at first sight to be much in opposition to the spirit of Romanticism. But it is not. With Milton the springs of life and conduct are all subjective. Men conform to law because they love righteousness. Thus Milton not only exalts the inherent dignity of Man, but also enthrones the thoroughly Romantic principle of inner liberty, which has, in his thought, its highest compliment in being identified with the love of truth and right.

In Milton's thought, sin means bondage. Freedom and happiness arise from following the things that make for righteousness. The Reason is to perce-

ive the right, the heart to love it, and the will to choose it. Where these operate with perfect freedom and certainty, there is perfect moral order. Besides its fatal consequences, sin is for the individual a disturbing force that operates against his own freedom. Man must be redeemed to that inner fruitful love of the right. For complete redemption, two worlds are necessary, and both under the same principle of order. Behind the veil, the Spiritual World of Light is fostering this subjective control; and the World of Darkness is trying to bring its overthrow. Thus the messenger of Heaven instructs Adam, and Satan comes to tempt Eve. Those unseen powers came into personal conflict in the Temptation, which yielded an assurance of complete triumph to those who would follow the love of righteousness.

Church and State were to Milton's mind only temporal aspects of an eternal order. Civil and ecclesiastical liberty were the conditions of righteousness, and, therefore, the natural right of every man. Men and nations must be self-controlled by this inner principle of liberty. The whole social, political, and religious organization of life must help, and in no case hinder, this true freedom of men to see, to love, and to do the right. Thus only may men and nations be self-controlled from exalted ideals. These conditions Milton believed possible only under a republican form of government, whether in Church or State. This form was alone felt to be consistent with free thought, and free expression in word and deed. For him republicanism seemed essential to the liberty of righteousness.

Milton seems to have felt that it was the right of the best to bear the rule. Like Carlyle, Milton objected not to the heirarchies that were founded upon worth and righteousness. Heirarchies based upon any other principle were incinsistent with true liberty. Bad kings and bad priests were alike to be dispatched. Milton felt that the administration in both Church and State in his day was intolerable. He therefore justified regicide, as a measure of

righteousness; and he withdrew from the Church for the same reason. He scorned the Church of Rome, and rejected that of England. He tarried in Presbyterianism only long enough to learn that "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large." Naturally his sympathies drifted toward the Quakers, who emphasize the inner impulse of the Spirit. But in none of them did his free spirit find a resting place. All were inadequate for his lofty ideal, which was rather above the militant Church, than opposed to it.

Another powerful line of influence from Milton's great conception was that upon religious Mysticism. The basic principle of his entire conception was that immediate, mystical relation of the spirit of man to the unseen powers that make for the triumph of right. With him this union was vivid and powerful. He felt, and made others feel, that just behind the veil of the flesh the heavenly forces were in full alliance with the man who was striving for the right for himself and others. Milton verily believed that he spoke the truth of God, when he said, in Comus (1634):

> Mortals, that would follow me,
> Love Virtue, she alone is free;
> She can teach you how to climb
> Higher than the spheary chime:
> Or, if Virtue feeble were,
> Heaven itself would stoop to her.

Thus early, one may see the broad platform of Milton's idealized universe rising into the full breadth of human experience. Thus early, one may also foresee the meaning of those symbolical visits of the Angels to Eden, and of those divine instructions given to Adam before and after the Fall.[94]

In this mystical world of Milton, those Romanticists who sought escape from the depressions of the real world found a satisfying refuge. But this vastly conceived world was not merely a dream of Fairyland. Milton believed a free

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94. Perhaps it was from Milton that Rousseau had the moral draughts which intoxicated him with virtue. This is rendered more probable from the emphasis which both authors laid upon the moral ends of education.

commonwealth to be the truth of life, and therefore possible to men. Moreover, men believed that the great poet, in his own soul, had actually attained that ideal freedom,--a conviction that is well expressed in the following paragraph:

> "Sublime ideality still prevailed in Milton, now, however, aged and rudely surprised by the Restoration in his dream of an austere republicanism. (Meanwhile he raised the) triple sumptuous structure on which his glory as the first of heroic modern poets rests forever. He completed the vast composition which places him on a level with Dante and Homer, which links him with the Bible and ranks him with the great Jewish prophets. He remained the stubborn politician and sublime poet who was capable, even under the check of Puritanism, to feel and express so great a love of beauty. He is the admirable exception which proves the rule that the human soul can remain free despite all preconceived systems or the crushing force of circumstances." [95]

Milton's educational theory was only a corollary of his great conception of the moral world. Milton made morality the chief end of education. In Milton both instruction and training must foster the inner principle of liberty. He considered knowledge merely for the sake of knowing, to be a vain thing. Knowledge is valuable to him only for its effects upon conduct. By this conviction, he austerely directed his own development. By it he attempted to direct the education of others. By it he determined the quality and limitations of knowledge for the Race, as imparted by the Angel to Adam in Paradise.[96] It is not merely, Be good in order to be happy. That is an invariable result. Milton's real idea of education is, Learn and labor in the direction of righteousness, for therein lie the largest possibilities for man and for nations. The Tractate was often printed, much read, and frequently cited as the best authority. The moral end of education became emphatic. Milton was regarded the champion of

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95. Frederic Loliee. A Short History of Comparative Literature. Translated by M. Douglas Power. Putnam. N. Y. Chap. xv., p. 190.

96. Cf. Paradise Lost on the subject of Obedience. The universal law of liberty, vi, 172-188; Happiness in Heaven, vi, 723-741; Happiness on earth, vi, 893-912; End of life, vii, 76-80; Limitation of knowledge to moral ends, vii, 111-130, viii, 167-178; Power to make earth and Heaven one, vii, 152-161. It will be perceived that the sum of the highest life is the moral issue thereof, which determines everything else in life.

public education, who had prescribed the remedy most needful for the social and national evils of the times.[97]

Milton's poetical platform was also a corollary of his vast conception of man in his relations to universal order. Poetry was thought to spring from the mystical relations of the spirit; for poetry is merely the voice of God in man. His platform was fully carried out in his own divine Epic. As thus brought, with the double strength of theory and practice, to bear upon Romantic poets, its influence can scarcely be overestimated.[98]

Milton believed that true poetry was the product of the creative imagination operating under the direction or impulse of divine inspiration. The greatest lyrical poetry was the voice of the Hebrew Prophets. "The abilities (for poetry), wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abused) in every nation." Great poetry is not attained "but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge." The end of poetry, according to Milton, is preeminently to teach. It is the voice of God, and must not be prostituted to base purposes. Hence Milton condemned the immoral consequences of the later Elizabethan dramas, attempted to raise "Satyr" above the "blinde Tap house," and to

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97. Appendix H .

98. Milton's critical views may most readily be found in the Critical Essays in the 17th. Century, edited by J. E Spingarn, to which work reference is made.

Reason for Church Government (1641). I, 197 ff. The Tractate of Education (1644). I, 286. Apology for Smectymnuus (1642). I, 203. Preface to Samson Agonistes (1671). I, 207-9 . (Also, W.P. Ker, Essays of J. Dryden, I, xxviii. A.W.Verity, edition of Samson, pp. 1-2. I. Bywater, Milton and the Aristotelian Definition of Tragedy. Jour. of Philo. 1900. 27: 267-273. Spingarn, Hist. of Lit. Crit. in the Renaissance. pp. 73-80).

See Hist.Lit. Crit. in Ren., p. 54. Apology for Smectymnus, I, 202. The Verse (1668), prefixed to Paradise Lost.

Edw. Phillips, Preface to the Theatrum Poetarum (1675), Spingarn, II, 259 ff. Cf. also Spingarn, I, xxii-xxiii. Edw. Dowden, England's Debt to Milton, emphasizes the salutary influences of Milton's exalted idealism, which Matthew Arnold declares to be the thing that will save England from things mean and vulgar. (Essay on Milton). Littell's Living Age. 1899. 223: 845-847.

restore Tragedy to its exalted function.

The bearer of this divine message must be a good man, skilled in language and imitation. He must be led and fed by the same Divine Spirit. "He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true Poem." Neither the message of Heaven nor the messenger must wear the grievous yoke of Pagan devices. The wings of the Spirit may not be clipped. The poetic soul, kindled from the altar-fires of Jehovah, must not wear the shackles of tinkling rhymes. Such a soul must be like a star, and dwell apart. The poet must be one with

> A voice whose sound (is) like the sea;
> Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free; (Trib. 199).

and yet, one who is willing to undertake the humblest tasks of life.

Such was the conception of Milton himself that kindled the springs of poetry in a Wordsworth. This conception of the prophetic consecration of the creative imagination, received from Milton, was transfused by Edward Phillips and others into the standard conceptions of poetry. The conviction of a fundamental religious inspiration in poetry was caught up by Dennis and emphasized as the condition of all great works in poetic art. The moral purpose in poetry was quickened, and gave a tone of "high seriousness" to literature in general, which may be reflected in the "literary gospels" of the nineteenth century. The premium placed upon the creative imagination breathed the breath of poetic life and fire into the ode-writers who rose at the middle of the eighteenth century. In a word, it was this poetic platform of Milton, made concrete and irresistible in Paradise Lost, that read itself into the secret heart of the English people, and, more than anything else, stimulated the revolt in literature, and transformed the national taste so much that the conventional, the commonplace, and the couplet, were all alike intolerable.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing survey has sought, above everything else, fidelity to facts and to the proportions of interest in the several parts of Milton's voluminous works. The bearing of this survey upon the question of Milton's influence, as stated in Chapter I above, would seem to indicate that the common view has hardly taken into account all the facts.

In Chapter II it has appeared, that, during the period under discussion, the part of Milton's works in which the English people were most deeply interested was Paradise Lost. At least, that poem was published and sold far more than anything else which Milton ever wrote. The Prose Works were published in several editions, and about one-half of these were prior to any extensive recognition of the Minor Poems. The Minor Poems themselves were published in four separate editions, with twenty-eight, one hundred and twelve, and six years, between them. Some of the poems began, as adaptations, to be published separately about the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. Otherwise, the Minor Poems were appended, in a subordinate manner, to the Epics, in order to complete the Poetical Works of Milton. Throughout the period the great commercial interest in Milton centered in Paradise Lost, as perhaps the "best seller" of the market.

The same central interest appears in Chapter III, where the voice of the poets is heard. With few exceptions, and these traceable to incidental circumstances, the poets of this period thought and wrote of Milton in terms of Paradise Lost. It was that poem which expressed what Milton meant to them. To this same conception the biographers also came, through a gradual transition of emphasis, as indicated in Chapter IV. Some of the earlier biographers were sym-

pathetic, most of them were not, and all of them treated Milton as a politician, who had some fame as a poet because of his Paradise Lost. As a politician, Milton was not, for a long while, generally popular, and so appeared in most accounts of his life. But the emphasis of his career gradually shifted from the politician to the poet, under the rising glory of this great author, which appears, in Chapter V, to have been due almost exclusively to the influence of Paradise Lost.

The influence of this poem gradually exalted Milton to the pinnacle of the temple of fame, convinced the nation of Milton's superior genius, procured a hearing for his Prose Writings, and brought the Minor Poems into public notice. Once introduced, as stated in Chapter VI, these Minor Poems made a certain fanciful appeal to the Milton-loving mid-century versifiers, and were often imitated in form, though almost never approached in spirit. They were used somewhat seriously at times as a model or form of expression for the out-let of certain poetic feelings generated in the earlier stages of Romanticism. But these poems were rarely more than a sort of poetic play-thing, a holiday dress for the Muse, a strong man's diversion.

The serious concern of the mid-century England was to understand the sublime message of Milton, built up through his Prose, and crowned in his exalted Epics. Therein, as pointed out in Chapter VII, the great voice of Milton was heard, in that exalted, unified, comprehensive, message of liberty, which permeated and transformed the life of England, sending its manifold currents out through many channels of the Romantic Movement.

APPENDIX A. MILTON'S HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

This History of Britain was published several times during the eighteenth century (p. 47 above). The expurgated part on the Long Parliament &c. was published in 1681, and restored to the History in 1738.(Newton, Lf.of Milton, ed. Dublin, 1773, I.xxxvii). Prior dwelt at some length, in a Preface (1706), on Milton's interest in the early traditions of Brute, and built an Ode,...To the Queen on this "poetical authority.(Chalmers,Eng. Poets. 10:178). In 1718,Complete Art of Poetry,249, Gildon said:

> "Our old Saxon History, and our Heptarchy might afford subjects of the same kind (as the classical mythology)." Then he added, "Milton tells us, that he writ it for the use of poets."

Bishop White Kennet began his Compleat History of England (1706, reprinted 1719, 3 vol. fol.) with Milton's History of Britain. Thomas Hearne (1678-1735), the antiquarian, referring to this History, Nov. 16, 1731, said, "John Milton I believe is more read (than John Chapham, the historical writer): and yet even Milton was infinitely better at poetry than history." (Reliquiae Hearnianae. III, 77). In 1737, The British Librarian (London, 1737. p. 2) quoted Milton as authority on Gildas. When David Hume (1711-1776) began to deal with this early period, in his History of England (1756), he was glad enough to shelter himself in the national esteem for Milton's great abilities:

> "The history of that period," said Hume, "abounds in names, but is extremely barren of events; or the events are related so much without circumstances and causes, that the most profound or most elegant writer must despair of rendering them either instructive or entertaining to the reader. Even the great learning and vigorous imagination

> of Milton sank under the weight; and this author scruples not to declare, that the skirmishes of kites or crows as much merited a particular narrative, as the confused transactions and battles of the Saxon Heptarchy." (Hume, ed. 1850. vol. I, p. 22).

Probably this History of Britain exercised some influence upon the problems of English liberty in the eighteenth century. Through the shadowy details of that early period of British history, Milton portrayed the working out of that inseparable union between virtue and liberty, which applies alike to individuals and to nations. This emphasis of Milton has been very well pointed out by Mr. C. H. Firth, in his article on Milton as an Historian, published in the Proceedings of the British Academy 1907-8.

APPENDIX B. MILTON'S BLINDNESS.

Milton's Blindness entered three times into his poetry. The first time was in the Sonnets On His Blindness (1655) and To Cyriack Skinner (1656). Here one hears the voice of resignation, while making what Professor W.P.Trent has called the most splendid example of "unspectacular patriotic sacrifice." (Milton After 300 years, 1910, p. 132). The second reference by Milton to his Blindness was in P.L. iii, 1-55, where one may perceive the enjoyment of a conscious recompence for his earlier sacrifice, in that inner illumination which opened to the poet the brighter visions of the spirit world. The last reference mirrored the man Milton under the wieght of his affliction, "blind among enemies!" This portrayal of his own woes was voiced in the outcries of Samson, who toiled at the mill, and spent his

> Life in captivity
> Among inhuman foes.

Few touches are to be found more pathetic than that of the old blind hero at the mill mistaking the entering Chorus for his enemies.

> But who are these? for with joint pace I hear
> The tread of many feet steering this way;
> Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare
> At my affliction, and perhaps to insult---
> Their daily practice to afflict me more.

Then through the Chorus, quietly drawn near, the Poet commented upon his own sad fate:

> O mirror of our fickle state,
> Since man on earth, unparalleled,
> The rarer thy example stands,
> By how much from the top of wondrous glory,
> Strongest of mortal men,
> To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fallen.

The outcries of blind Samson were only a larger development of the "evil days" and "evil tongues" of P.L. vii, 26, which became a sort of key-note to Milton's later life, during the eighteenth century.

The fact of Milton's Blindness, and these poetic expressions of that fact, occupied an important place in later thought of the poet. He was sometimes criticized for having stopped to introduce these personal matters into his Epic (W.J.Mickle, Tr.of the Lusiad, Chalmers, Eng. Poets, vol. 21, p. 634 n.11); but Addison thought the digression very beautiful (Spec. No. 297). It was a common thing to find the entire passage from P.L. III, in the earlier Lives of Milton, and Bysshe (Art of Poetry,1702) quoted the passage in full.

Milton's Blindness played heavily upon poetic fancy during the eighteenth century. This fact may be seen by refer-

ence to the Poetical Tributes Number 40, 77, 78, 110, 182, 187, 205, 208, 209. A somewhat extremely fanciful explanation of Milton's Blindness appeared in Gray's Progress of Poesy(1754):

> Nor second He, that rode sublime
> Upon the seraph-wings of extasy,
> The secrets of the abyss to spy.
> He pass'd the flaming bounds of Place and Time:
> The living throne, the saphire-blaze,
> Where Angels tremble, while they gaze,
> He saw; but blasted with excess of light,
> Clos'd his eyes in endless night.

These lines were regarded as weak by the Monthly Review (14:474-41), and as "a puerile conceit, unworthy of the author,... void of truth and propriety," by the Critical Review(4:167-70). Walpole thought that this description, "though perhaps not strictly defensible, is very majestic."(To Lord Lyttelton, Aug.25,1757. Toynbee, iv, 85). Mason pronounced these lines within "the bounds of poetic credibility," but repulsive because "Milton himself has told us, in a strain of heart-felt exaltation (Sonnet to Skinner), that he lost his eye-sight." (Poems of Gray.ed.1778. I, p. 114).

Walter Pater, in The Renaissance, Studies in Art and Poetry(1910, p.37), says that the Platonists derived mysticism "from the act of shutting the eyes, that one may see the more inwardly." Such certainly was thought in the eighteenth century to have been the effect of Milton's Blindness: he was enabled there—by to see the invisible things of the spiritual world. Milton himself had suggested something of this nature in his prayer (P.L. III, 51-55):

> So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,
> Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
> Irradiate; there plant eyes; all mists from thence
> Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
> Of things invisible to mortal sight.

It was strongly believed that this prayer was literally fulfilled. The common conviction was expressed by Charles Gildon in his Vindication of Mr. Milton's Paradise Lost(1694),(Misc. Letters and Essays. 1694. 41-44):

> "Tho' the composing such a compleat poem on such, a no less obscure, than weighty subject, was aTask to be performed by Mr. Milton only, yet 'tis not out of doubt, whether himself had ever been able so to Sing of Unrevealed Heavenly Mysteries, had he not been altogether deprived of his Outward sight, and thereby made capable of such continued Strenuous, Inward Speculations: as he who has the use of his Bodily Eyes, cannot possibly become possest with. This however must be Granted, as indubitably true; the bountiful Powers above, did more than make him amends for their taking away his Sight, by so Illumining his Mind, as to enable him most compleatly to sing of Matchless Beings, Matchless Things, before unknown to, and even unthought of by the whole Race of Men; thus rewarding him for a Temporary Loss, with an Eternal Fame, of which Envy

it self shall not be able ever to deprive this best of Poems, or its most Judicious Author.

So also Isaac Watts said in verse (To Mitio, by Friend. Pt.II, The Bright Vision. Horae Lyricae. Bk.ii. Chalmers, E.Pts. 13: 67-70):

'Twas Raphael taught
The patriarch of our progeny th' affairs
Of Heaven: (so Milton sings, enlightened bard!
Nor miss'd his eyes, when in sublimest strain
The Angel's great narration he repeats).

And John Hughes continued the same conception, in To The Memory of Milton, quoted as Tribute No. 40. This idea of a compensative inner illumination continued even into the nineteenth century, and appeared as the basis of a just observation of Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), who spoke in his Specimens (1819, 1,238-9) of Milton's dependance upon supernatural inspiration, when his eyes were shut on the face of nature, and "in a calm air of strength .....beginning a mighty performance without the appearance of an effort."

Milton's Blindness passage was even imitated. Thomas Blacklock(1721-1791) was blind from the age of six. By 1754, he wrote his Soliloquy, in blank verse, which is little more than a prolonged echo of Milton on the subject of Blindness. James Spence, who wrote An Account of the Life of Blacklock (1754, pub.1756), dwelt at some length upon the similarity between him and Milton in this respect. This similarity, as well as Blacklock's indebtedness to Milton, was recognized in Verses Written by a very Near-sighted Gentleman, published in Blacklock's Poems, London,1766, lvi-lxii.

The Rev. Samuel Hoole published Edward; or, the Curate, A Poem in Three Cantos, in 1787. Of this work, the Monthly Review said,(78:242-243):

"After the manner of Milton, in the third book of his Paradise Lost, he has introduced his subject with an affecting reference to his own misfortune, a defect of sight, to console himself, under which he appears to have undertaken this poetical detail of Edward's woes."

Likewise also Milton entered into the literature of Blindness itself. Denis Diderot (1713-1784) published An Essay on Blindness(1750?), with anecdotes on Milton. Select Essays from the Encyclopedy had an article (xii) on Blindness, by M.D'Alembert, which referred to noted persons who were blind.(Cr.Rev. 37:49-54). Robert Wood, Esq., in his Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer(1775), ran a parallel between Homer and Milton, and felt a connection between their Blindness and their sublimity.(Cr.Rev. Sept.,1775. 40: 169-178). The Monthly Review quoted Thomas Brown's Observations on the Zoonomia of Erasmus Darwin(1798), as using Milton's descriptive excellences, though blind, to expose the absurdity in Darwin's theory that "when an organ (of sense) is destroyed, the ideas of that organ necessarily perish." "Can we then suppose," said Brown, "that Milton described the beauties of his ideal paradise, without any conception of what he described!" (Mo.Rev. June, 1799. 110(29): 151-164).

APPENDIX C. MRS. MACAULAY ON MILTON.

About the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the question of literary property, or copyright, was warmly discussed, the right having been practically annuled by "the fatal decision against it in the house of lords." Literary circles were in great confusion. Catherine Macaulay, who was then sick and above a hundred miles from the capital, gathered her remnants of strength for A Modest Plea for the Property of Copy Right (1774). She introduced the names of Bacon, Newton, Milton, and Lock, "as examples to prove that the first-rate geniuses have laboured in the literary way, on the single motive of delighting and instructing mankind." But the rewards of these authors were a perpetual disgrace upon the nation. The use that she made of Milton in this connection is a splendid summary of his influence upon certain aspects of national life and thought at that time. In her manner of direct narration, she said:

> "Newton was gratified with a place and pension; and Milton, for his spirited and noble defence of the people of England, had the honour of receiving thanks, accompanied with a present, from the most patriotic government that ever blessed the hopes and military exertions of a brave people. When indeed the times altered, and the matchless Author of Paradise Lost had fallen on evil days; when his prospects in regard to lucrative advantage was vanished; when he had lost his eyes in the attempt of fixing the ideas of good government and true virtue in the minds of a wavering people; when his fortunes were entirely ruined in the crush of his party; this excellent, this heroic, this god-like man, instead of flying, like Timon of Athens,,from the haunts of the human species, amused is distressed imagination with forming, for the delight and the instruction of mankind, a poem, whose merit is of such magnitude, that it is impossible for a genius inferior to his own to do it justice in the description.
>
> Such an example of love and charity, it is to be owned, does great honour to Milton's religious and moral principles, and to human nature; but yet I think it is an example, which may with much more propriety be brought on the other side of the question. Can any man, capable of feeling and tasting the compasitions of Milton, reflect without sorrow and anguish of heart, that a society of rational beings should be

so void of every grateful sentiment, so dead to every moral instinct, as to suffer the posterity of this illustrious citizen, to be reduced to a state of poverty, which necessitated them, for the support of a miserable existence, to solicit a share in the distribution of public alms.

In Milton's days, had literary property stood on the same footing it was supposed to stand on before the fatal decision against it in the house of lords, a bookseller notwithstanding this worthy man was under the frowns of a court; notwithstanding the virtue of his conduct had subjected him to a load of unpopularity, from the change of sentiment in his giddy countrymen; notwithstanding, I say, these difficulties, a bookseller, on speculative grounds, might possibly have given him such a sum for that incomparable poem, as would in some measure have helped to support him comfortably under the cloud of his fortune, and enabled him to leave such a decent provision for his posterity, as to have prevented, to the indelible disgrace of this country, the necessity of their asking alms."

A foot-note says, "This will not appear an extravagant supposition, when we consider the price which the present bishop of Bristol got from the booksellers, for writing a few notes on this incomparable poem."

Crit. Review. March, 1774. 37: 214-221.

APPENDIX D. ADDISON'S CRITIQUE UPON THE PARADISE LOST, IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The popularity of Addison's Critique throughout the eighteenth century was very great. Besides the wide circulation of the original Spectator Papers, this Critique seems to have been reprinted in the Spectator in 1712 8vo., 1729 12mo., 1744 12mo., 1765 8vo., 1786 12mo., 1796 (Harrison's Brit. Classicks, 4-5) 8vo., and 1746 (Tr. into French) 12mo. The works of Addison were published in 1721 4 vols. 4to., 1721 4 vols. 12mo., 1741?, 1761 4 vols. 4to., 1777 3 vols 12mo.

The Critique was printed with Paradise Lost in the following editions:

24	1719	46	1750	80	1770	90	1778	123	1795-6
45	1749	71	1763	95	1776	107	1790	125	1795

and, according to the British Museum Catalogue, in the following:

25	1720	50	1751	73	1765	130	1801
38	1731	57	1754	92	1775		

It was printed in a separate volume in 1719, and as a part of the Familiar Explanation of Milton, 12mo., 1762. It was translated into German, by J.J.Bodmer, 1740, 8vo. It was translated into French, and printed with Paradis Perdu, in 1729, 1754, 1792, and with Milton Works, in 1753. It was translated into Italian, by Rolli, in 1742, and printed again in 1794 and 1801.

If the above figures be correct, the Critique passed through the English press thirty-two times by 1801, and appeared in translation eight times. While Addison seemed himself to say, in his introduction to these Papers, that he did not need to write Milton into popularity, yet the Papers were timely, and did greatly stimulate the interest in Paradise Lost.

The first formal representation of this stimulated interest occurred while the Papers were still coming from the press. Eustace Burgell (Spec., April 22, 1712) was doubtless writing with his eye on the object, when he represented Will Honeycomb with a pocket edition of Paradise Lost, a new Tonson Quarto no doubt, which Sir Roger wished to borrow, with the leaf turned down at a select passage recently brought to his attention, and which he desired to read that night before going to bed. Addison himself also spoke, in the Spectator (May 3,1712), of the generous way in which the public had received his Papers on Milton.

The interest continued throughout the century, not without some notes of criticism on Addison's methods, though in general he was often thought of as the first great champion of Milton's popularity.

Charles Gildon, in the Laws of Poetry (1721, p.[illegible]), approved, in general, the spirit of Addison's work, but censured him for attempting to bring "a divine poem" under the rules of heroic poetry. (Cf. also The Complete Art of Poetry, 1718, p.[illegible]). Naturally enough, the Apotheosis of Milton (1738), by William Guthrie (1708-1770), gave a delightful character of Addison boosting Milton's claims among the poetical spirits of the other world (Addisoniana, I, 144-5 and Gent. Mag. 8: 232, 469, 521, &c.).

Dr. Johnson recognized Addison, in relation to Milton, as "the illustrious writer who has so long dictated to the commonwealth of learning." (Rambler 86. Jan. 12, 1751). More definitely, however, the Doctor seems to have expressed his feelings when he said, in the Life of Addison (ed. Hill, II,), "By the blandishments of gentleness and facility he has made Milton an universal favorite with whom readers of every class think it necessary to be pleased."

A Note to Cibber's Life of James Thomson-, which the Monthly Review thought worth while to quote (Appendix to vol. 9, p. 486, 1753), held that Milton's "works were only found in the libraries of the curious, or judicious few, till Addison's Remarks spread a taste for them; and at length it became even unfashionable not to have read them." R. Kedington (d.1760), in his Dissertation on the Iliad of Homer (1759), affirmed that "the great Milton lay for a long time most cruelly neglected, till an admired Writer..... unfolded his beauties." (Mo. Rev. Feb., 1760. 22: 119). This same Review (May, 1762. 26:299) declared that Addison's Remarks helped materially to prepare the way for the appreciation of James Thomson's works a few years later. Lord Kames, in his Elements of Criticism (1762), spoke of Milton as "hid under the veil of obscurity, till Mr. Addison unfolded his beauties to the public eye." (Quoted Mo.Rev. 27:13). Edward Watkinson, in his Essay on Criticism (1763, part iii), likewise referred the reputation of Milton to the Critique of Addison.

The critical value of Addison's Remarks was assailed in the last half of the century. Richard Hurd wrote in 1770: "For what concerns his Criticism on Milton in particular, there was this accidental benefit arising from it, that it occasioned an admirable poet to be read, and his excellencies to be observed. But for the merit of the work itself, if there be anything just in the plan, it was, because Aristotle and Bossu had taken the same route before him." (Life and Correspondence, Memoirs &c. pp. 107-8, 383-4). Hurd pronounced Addison's criticisms "not infrequently altogether frivolous." (Quoted Knox's Essay, No. 21. Perry, Eng.Lit. in 18C., 163n).

Mrs. Barbauld strongly denied that Addison discovered Milton's Paradise Lost. (Crit. Essays on the Tatler & Spec. Works, Boston, 1826. III, 87-104). But the Rt. Hon. George Canning thought that "To the Critiques of the Spectator, Shakespeare and, more particularly, Milton are endebted for no inconsiderable share of the reputation which they now so universally enjoy." (Microcosm No. 11, Feb. 12, 1787. Brit. Essayists, 1827, 28:66-72. Gleaner, 1811. No. 111. 2: 100).

Nathan Drake, M.D. (1766-1836), however, defended, against some modern critics, the wisdom of Addison's Critique as the effective thing for its day, and justified that wisdom by the unparalleled results of the Critique upon the popularity of Milton, which had continued to increase to the end of the century. "Perhaps no effort," said Drake, "in the annals of criticism has been productive of more salutary and decided effects, than the attempt to render popular the Paradise Lost of Milton." (On the Critical Abilities and Tastes of Addison. Essays Biog, &c. 1798. vol. 3, pp. 144-167). Perhaps there was need of this defence of Addison at that time. In his Lectures on English Poets, written about 1797 but not published until 1807, Percival Stockdale said, "A sacrilegious contempt hath been expressed for that elegant critick's beautiful papers in the Spectator on the Paradise Lost." (Quoted by Perry, p. 163).

This persistent interest in the Critique shows that it was regarded as perhaps the standard work of the century on Paradise Lost, and argues a large influence upon the popular appreciation of that poem. One can easily understand how it should come to be regarded that Addison first brought Milton into popularity by these Papers, because they were a sort of epoch-making production.

APPENDIX E. THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT MILTON'S RELIGION.

The exact truth of Milton's religious views was always a more or less debated question. His ancestors, and some of his contemporary kinsmen were Roman Catholics. But Milton's own family had broken with the Faith of Rome long before the Poet's birth. They were Puritans, and such in general was Milton; but he was felt to have many exceptions to the regular Puritan religious formulas. Milton severed his connections with the Church of England, and seems not to have been actively connected with any church organization. Later in life, he leaned toward the Quakers. These facts, together with many things in his writings, laid the religious beliefs of Milton open to many speculations.

John Toland, who cared little about orthodoxy either in religion or politics, described Milton as a Socinian and a republican. There was also a suspicion that Milton was, during his last days, a Roman Catholic. Thomas Hearne (1678-1735), the antiquarian, explained this matter rather fully. Before quoting him, it will be well to recall that Sir Christopher Milton (1615-1693) was himself a Catholic. "Mr. Joyner told me," said Hearne, July 4, 1705, "that Mr. Selden writ the Life of Fryer Bacon, but he cannot tell where 'tis now. At the same time, he gave large encomiums of Mr. Milton, but denies that he died a Papist." On Sept. 16, 1706, Hearne wrote half a page on this subject, from which it seems that Joyner stoutly denied, while Hearne seemed to credit the testimony of Sir Christopher Milton, confirmed by a sermon preached by Dr. Binks at assize at Warwick. Sir Christopher had claimed that John Milton was a Papist for the last ten years before his death. Hearne seems, however, to have thought well of the Poet Milton, and spoke of him as "the famous John Milton." (Reliquiae Hearnianae. Vol. I. pp. 1-2, 115, 291).

Biographers, as a rule, have little to say about Milton's religion. Richardson dismissed the charge of Arianism, with confidence in the general approval of "so many Pious and Learned Divines having approved and encouraged the Book."(Life, xlix).

A brief, but spirited, controversy on the charge of Arianism was waged through the Gentleman's Magazine in 1738. The attack was made by "Theophilus," who claimed to regard Milton very highly as a poet, but thought not"so well of his religion."(8:124-125). The charge was that of Arianism, "which ... tends to corrupt our Notions of the most sacred Things, and to sensualize our ideas of God, of Heaven, and another world, by Glosses often profane and sometimes ridiculous." Two replies to this charge appeared immediately. One of them claimed for Milton regular orthodox views in Paradise Lost.(8:201-2). The other writer, who had newly and carefully perused Addison's Critique, vindicated Milton against the charge of a sensual Heaven, &c.(8:288-90).

The next writer, Urbanus Sylvan, who was quoted from the Daily Gazette (Aug. 7), challenged Theophilus "to produce some Passages from Paradise Lost, to prove his assertion that Milton had inserted the Arian Principle into that Poem: if it is not done in three months, Theophilus must pass as some conceited Popish Tool, whose aim was to deter well-meaning People from reading a Poem wherein the Idolatry and Superstition of the Heathens and Papists are exposed with all possible strength and Beauty."(8:417). Five months later, Theophilus made a feeble reply, which seems to have been his last, claiming that his charge had not been answered. One thing prominent in this argument, was the direct appeal which was made to Addison's Critique as the ultimate authority on Paradise Lost.(9:5-6).

Dr. Johnson, who failed not to seize upon any means of rendering Milton's name odious, played heavily upon the religious nerve of his contemporaries. But Milton was not so easily dethroned as the Doctor had imagined. The venerable biographer was immediately informed, that Milton's religion was sufficiently revealed in Paradise Lost, or words to that effect. ("W.& D." Gent Mag. March, 1779. 49:36-37); and later he was informed that Milton's religion needed no vindication. (Boerhadem, Gent. Mag. Oct.,1779. 49:492-3).

But Milton's "Arianism," which remained an unsettled point, was a subject for table talk, and even for serious discussion, as late as 1827.(p. 143). Even more recently, Joseph W. Morris published John Milton: a Vindication, specially from the charge of Arianism. London, (1862). 8vo. There is still speculation as to what Milton really did believe in respect to religious matters.

APPENDIX F . NOTES ON MILTON'S SOURCES.

The object here is to add a few notes, mainly bibliographical, to Chapter vi, at Note 90. p. .

Dryden said, in the Preface to The Fables (1700), that "Milton was the poetical son of Spenser, and Mr. Waller of Fairfax.... Milton has acknowledged to me, that Spenser was his original." Gildon emphasized this point, in The Complete Art of Poetry(1718), in the Preface of which he recognized that Spenser had made both Milton and Waller poets, in that he was the inspiration that kindled their natural geniuses.

Milton's indebtedness to the Scriptures was, of course evident from the earliest appearance of his Epics. Addison has some remarks upon this in connection with the Creation (Spec. 339. Mar. 29, 1712), and upon Milton's debt to Ovid for the looking-glass passage (Bohn. ed. I, 151-2). The Golden Scales passage was thought, by another writer, to come from Homer.(Free-Thinker, 140. Aug.24, 1719. Drake's Gleaner, 18. 1811. I,133). Later in the century, Akenside was interested in Milton's lively interest in ancient mythological lore.(Notes on the Hymn to the Naiads(1746). Chalmers Eng.Poets. 14:133-5). Milton's obligations to the Greek dramatists was generally recognized. R. Potter thought that "Milton and Gray have imitated Aeschylus, but with that free spirit of imitation that always accompanies and distinguishes genius. In this spirit, the fire of the Prometheus of Aeschylus is transformed into the Satan of Milton."(See Mo.Rev. Oct.,1778. 59: 286-297).

Voltaire contended that Paradise Lost owed its origin to a Florentine Comedy, called Adamo, by Andreino (Essay on Epick Poetry, L.,1727). In the same year, this view was assailed by the Italian Rolli, then in London; and in 1753, by Giuseppe Baretti, in A Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry, &c. , who regarded it "ridiculous that such a man as Milton could have raked among the Rubbish of Andreino so bright a jewel as the Paradise Lost"(p.67).

Dr. Peace thought that the source of Paradise Lost was an Italian Tragedy, called Il Paradiso Perso. Peck thought it borrowed from a wild romance. William Lauder reviewed the question, in the Preface to his Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns(1750). In that Essay, Lauder undertook to show that Milton had stolen the Epic from Hugo Grotius, and Masenius. About thirty years later, there was considerable interest in Grotius's De Veritate &c , which was translated as Hugo Grotius on the Truth of Christianity. The Critical Review (May, 1793. 55:400-1) mentioned five translations. This work was written in Dutch, translated into Latin(1628), and into English (1639), and again (1686). The later Translation by L'Oste was "poor stuff."(Cr.Rev. Aug.,1778: 46:153); but that by Spencer Madan (1756-1836) went through three editions (1782, 1792, 1814).

The Battle of the Genii, A Fragment, in three Cantos. Taken from an Arabic MS., was published about 1765, and reviewed as a possible source of Milton's Battle of the Angels.(Cr.Rev.Feb., 1765. 19: 151). The Notes to the Translation of the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius (1778, pub. 1780) were given largely to indicating the similarities between this work and Milton's Paradise Lost.(by Francis Fawkes, in Anderson, vol. 13, and Chalmers, v.[illegible]). It was pointed out, that The Christiad (1535), by Marcus H.Vida, had an invocation of the Holy Spirit.(Cr.Rev. Dec.,1771. 32:443-3). There was also a flimsy attempt made by Peregrine Phillips, editor of Crashaw's Poetry, to show that Milton, Pope, Gray, Young, &c., were all plagiarists of Richard Crashaw. (For reply, see Cr. Rev. April, 1785. 59: 285-8). Wm.J. Mickle attempted also to find a connection between The Lusiad of Camoens(1517-1579) and Paradise Lost, through Fanshawe's Translation of the Lusiad in 1655.(Chalmers, Eng. Poets. 21:757-9). G.E.Woodberry regards Camoens "the maker of the only truly modern epic."(The Inspiration of Poetry, 1910, Macmillan. pp. 58-84).

In 1785, Henry Boyd (d.1832) published A Translation of the Inferno of Dante Alighieri, in English Verse, with Historical Notes, and the Life of Dante. Both of the London Reviews hastened to point out the indebtedness of Milton to Dante. (cf.Cr. Rev. June, 1785. 59: 401-410). The next issue of the Critical Review (July, 1785. 60: 54-59), treating The Progress of Romance through Times, Countries, and Manners, in two volumes, has the following comment on the darkness of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the spirit of romance, whose productions in this way were regarded as objects of ridicule. "It was in vain to lead the readers to those forgotten fables, by telling them that they were once the sources of entertainment to the gay, the witty, and even the learned; that from this fire Milton frequently kindled his torch, and scattered light and flame into metaphysical disquisitions, or austere complaints; that from this source he frequently threw an additional lustre on even his own splendid imagery."

Henry Brooke (1706-1783) translated Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered in 1738, books I and II, in rhyme(Chalmers, Eng.Poets. 17: 385-388). Il Tasso. A Dialogue. The Speakers John Milton, Torquato Tasso. In which new light is thrown on their poetical and moral characters, appeared in 1762; but the Critical Review (14:76) thought the"new light certainly concealed under a bushel." John Hoole (1727-1803) translated the Jerusalem Delivered,into heroic couplets,in 1763. The work was well received. (Cr.Rev. 16: 16-24; Mo. Rev. 29:180, 251, 321.Chalmers, Eng. Poets.21:405-16). In 1773, Hoole translated Orlando Furioso, which seems to have gone through eight editions by 1819.(Chalmers, Eng. Poets.21:5-16. In 1785, La Vita di Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) was published in Rome, and reviewed in London. (Cr. Rev. Appendix,1785. 6:506-16). The large Miltonic interest in all these Italian works were quite conspicuous. Hoole's Notes were devoted to much discussion of the relations of Milton to Tasso as a source.

Late in the century, Wm. Hayley added to his Life of Milton "Conjectures on the Origin of Paradise Lost."(1794, 1796). Joseph Ritson pointed out Hayley's failure to notice "the

Angeleida of Erasmo Valvasone, to which, I am apt to suspect, Milton was much indebted [illegible] to any thing his biographer has enumerated." (To. Mr. Walker. Letters, II, 102-112. Feb. 8, 1796). H. W. Tytler, M.D., published Paedotrophia; or, The Art of Nursing and Rearing Children. A Poem in three books. Translated from the Latin of Fracastoro de St. Martha (d.1595). The Dedication to Henry III was compared to Paradise Lost, as a possible source; but both probably took lines from Ovid.(Cr. Rev. Dec., 1797. n.s. 21: 430-443).

Charles Dunster (1750-1816) published, in 1800, Considerations on Milton's Early Reading, and the Prima Stamina of his Paradise Lost; together with Extracts from a Poet of the Sixteenth Century. In a Letter to Wm. Falconer, M.D. In this work, the author attempted to show Milton's indebtedness to Joshua Sylvester (1563-1618), who had translated the Scriptural epic of the Gascon huguenot, Guillaume de Saluste, seigneur du Bartas (1544-1590). This work translated by Sylvester was printed in two English editions during Milton's early days, (4to.,1613, and fol.,1621); and it was supposed to have given Milton the idea of a religious epic. This work was given considerable notice in contemporary criticism, and it was felt that the influence upon Milton from Du Bartas, through Sylvester, was not as direct and forceful as Dunster supposed it to be. (Cr.Rev.Dec.,1800. 30 n.s. 2:438-42; Mo.Rev. March, 1801. 115(34): 234-39). See also H.J.Todd's Life of Milton, which has an Appendix containing "An Inquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost." (ed. 1826. pp lxvii ff.).

APPENDIX G. RELIGIOUS TITLES.

The following titles belong more or less closely to this line of theological thought. An examination of these works will show the Miltonic element fully as prominent as the titles may suggest.

Thomas Burnetus, "The Theory of the Earth and Deluge and Paradise"(1684). Sherlock Wallis, "Discourses on the Possibility of the Trinity"(1694). Charles Leslie, "The History of Sin and Heresay"(1698)(Chap. v.note 47, above). Edw. Young, "A Vindication of Providence; or A True Estimate of Human Life"(1728). Bishop Warburton, "The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated"(1737-8). He formally announced "To vindicate the ways of God to man," as the purpose of this work. (Works, 1811. I, 197). James Bale, "An Essay toward the Rationale of the Liberal Doctrine of Original Sin; or, Vondication of God's Wisdom, Goodness, and Justice, in Permitting the Fall of Adam." (Mo. Rev. March,1752. 6:223-6). Printed again later.(Cr.Rev. Oct.,1766.22:257-66). B. Regis, D.D., "The Ancientness of the Christian Religion." From the Fall of Man. (Mo.Rev.Oct.,1753. 9:319) John Shuckford,D.D., "The Creation and Fall of Man." Liberal. (Mo. Rev. Jan.,1754. 10:58-70). Wm. Romaine, "The Sure Foundation." Text, Isa.28:16. Deals with the Fall. (Cr.Rev. May, 1756. 1:378-383). Delivered before Oxford Univ., Apr. 11, 1756. A.A.Sykes, D.D., "The Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of Man by Jesus Christ." (Mo. Rev. May, 1756. 14:397-417). Anthony Forthergill, "The Fall of Man: An Enquiry into the Nature of that Event, and How Far the Posterity of Adam are involved in the guilt of his Transgression." (Mo. Rev. 1756. 15:677). Anonymous, "A Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil." How reconcilesble with the mercy and benevolence of the Supreme Being? (Cr.Rev. May, 1757. 3:439-448)(Mo.Rev.16:302-316). John Wesley, "The Doctrine of Original Sin, According to Scripture, Reason, and Experience." (Mo.Rev. Nov.,1757. 17:445-446).

Hugh Farmer, "An Enquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness." (Cr.Rev.July, 1761. 12:74-5. Mo.Rev. Aug.,1761. 25:130-141). Answered in, "Christ's Temptations Real Facts." (Cr.Rev.May,1762. 13:437). Jonathan Edwards, "A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will,&c." (Mo.Rev.Dec.,1762. 27:434-8). Capel Berrow, "A Lapse of Human Souls in a State of Pre-existence, the Only Original Sin, and the Ground-work of the Gospel Dispensation." (Cr.Rev. July, 1766. 22:42-43). Archbishop King, "Sermon on the Circumstances of Man's Fall." (1766). William, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, "A Sermon Preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."(1766,Feb.,21). (Cr.Rev.22:393). Samuel Pye,M.D., "The Mosaic Theory of the Solar, or Planetary, System." Deals with Creation. (Cr.Rev. Dec.,1766. 22:410-415). Richard Price, "Four Dissertations. On Providence, &c." (Cr.Rev. Jan.,1767. 23: 9-17). Jonathan Edwards, "The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended." A reply to John Taylor on same subject.(Cr.Rev.Oct.,1767. 24:256). Rev.R.Shepherd, "Letters to the Author of a Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil." No. 3 deals with "a Paradisiacal State." (Cr.Rev. July, 1768. 26:74-75). "A Lover of Genuine Christianity," "Some Considerations on Original Sin, the Fall of Man, and the Doctrine of a Christ."(Cr.Rev. Aug.,1770. 30:157-

Anonymous, "The Key of Paradise, Opening the Gate to Eternal Salvation." (pp.460. 1675). Anonymous, "The History of Adam and Eve." (Gent.Mag. Dec.,1738. 8:664). Charles Povey, "The Virgin in Eden; or the State of Innocency. (Gent.Mag.Nov.,1741. 11:614). Thomas Hartley, "Paradise Restored: or, A Testimony to the Doctrine of the Blessed Millennium."(1764). A mystical writer who sympathized with Wesley, and opposed Warburton. (Cr.Rev.March,1764.17: 167-178). "Paradise Regained; or, the Scripture Account of the Glorious Millennium." Pronounced an absurd "rabbinical dream." (Cr.Rev. April, 1778. 33:333). By a Listener, "Infernal Conferences; or Dialogues of Devils." "Must have been listening to Milton's Pandemonium," (Cr.Rev. Aug.,1772. 34: 108-116). Anonymous, "An Essay on the Justice of God." (Cr.Rev. Dec.,1773. 36: 477). John Palmer, "Observations in Defence of the Liberty of Man, as a Moral Agent: In Answer to Dr. Priestley's Illustrations of Philosophical Necessity." (Cr. Rev. Oct.,1779. 48: 261-278). Dr. Wm. King, late Archbishop of Dublin, "An Essay on the Origin of Evil," with "A Sermon on the Fall of Man." Edited by Edmund, Lord Bishop of Carlisle. 5th. edition. (Cr. Rev. Jan., 1782. 53:77-78). Charles Chauncey, D.D., "Five Dissertations on the Scripture Account of the Fall; and its Consequences." (Cr.Rev. Dec., 1785. 60: 444-453). Anonymous, "Paradise Reviewed: a Series of Essays, in which are deduced our Duties in Life, from Man's Nature and Origin." (Cr. Rev. Nov.,1791.n.s. 3:350).

The liberal space alotted to such publications in the current Reviews is indicative of a large popular interest in this kind of literature. Whatever the strength of Miltonic influence upon the several authors of these publications, one may feel fairly safe in the opinion that most of them would be interpreted in the popular mind according to the teachings of Milton. The volume of this literature represents therefore a powerful contack of Milton with the popular religious life of the nation.

APPENDIX H. SOME EDUCATIONAL TITLES, BEARING UPON MILTON'S INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION.

Of first importance, were the '38 editions of the Tractate (Chapter II, pp. 50-51 above). Most of the other titles were gathered from contemporary Reviews, and are usually listed under the date of the review. The list is intended only to be sufficiently full to show the general trend of educational thought.

1752. An Essay upon Edn, intended to show that the common method is defective, in religion, morality, our own language, history, geography; and that the custom of teaching the dead languages, when little or no advantage can be expected from them, is absurd. (Mo. Rev. Dec.,1752. 7:473-4).

1756. Thos. Sheridan. Brit. Education: or, the Source of the Disorders of Great Britian. Cites Milton with approval. (Mo. Rev. Feb., 1756. 14:81-104)(Cr.Rev. Jan.,1758. 5:51-54).

1757. J. Girard. Practical Letters on Edn, Spiritual and Temporal; extracted from the most eminent authors on that subject. (Cr.Rev. Nov. 4:409-412).

G.W. Robener. Satirical Letters. Tr. from Ger. Treats defects. (Cr.Rev. June, 1757. 3:499-508).

1759. The True Mentor; or, An Essay on the Edn. of the Young People of Fashion. Tr. from the French.(Cr.Rev.Nov., 1759. 8:409).

1761. Jos. Collyer. The Parent's and Guardian's Directory &c. Treats practical sides of Edn.(Mo.Rev. Jan.v24:67-73).

Bishop Burnet. Thoughts on Edn. Now first printed from original MS. "Grown much in demand." (Cr.Rev.Feb.,1761. 11:103-8).

Rev. Jas. Hervey. A Treatise on the Religious Edn. of Daughters. (Cr.Rev. June, 1761. 11:499. Mo. Rev.July, 1761. 25: 79).

R. Wynne. Essays on Edn., by Milton, Locke, &c. (p. 50 above). Added "Observations on the Ancient and Modern Languages. (Cr.Rev. June, 1761. 11: 500. Mo. Rev. July, 1761. 25:76-77).

A New Estimate of Manners and Principles. Compares Ancient and Modern as to Knowledge, Happiness, and Virtue. Some principle of Mr. Rousseau examined. Modern educational system criticized. (Mo.Rev. Nov.,1761. 25: 361-368).

1762. The Defects of an University Edn., and its unsuitableness to a commercial people. From a Society. (Cr.Rev. Feb., 1762. 13: 161ff. Mo.Rev. 26:294).

J.J. Rousseau(1712-1778). Emilius: or a New System of Edn. (Cr.Rev. 1762. vol. 14, 250-270, 336-346, 426-440; vol. 15, 21-34. Mo. Rev. 27: 213, 258, 342.

1762. The Polite Lady: or, A Course of Female Edn. Letters from a Mother to her Daughter. (Cr.Rev. Nov.,1762. 14:399-400).

1763. Observations on Mr. Rousseau's New System of Edn. (Cr.Rev.Feb.,1763. 15:159.

Jas. Elphinston. Education, in Four Books. Poems complete. (Cr.Rev. March, 1763. 15:214-216).

1765. John Gottlob Kruger. An Essay on the Edn. of Children. Tr. from the German. (Cr.Rev.Feb.,1765. 19:90 ff.

Father(Bernabite) Gerdil. Reflections on Edn. Written in French, against Rousseau. (Cr.Rev. May,1765. 19:353-411.)

Jos. Priestley.LL.D. An Essay on a Course of Liberal Edn for Civil and Active Life. Emphasizes History for this purpose. (Cr.Rev. Aug.,1765. 20:138-140).

Dr. Brown. Thoughts on Civil Liberty. Outlines a Code of Edn. (

1769. Mr. Smith, M.D. The Students' Vade Mecum. Recommends books to study. (Cr.Rev. Dec.,1769. 28: 430-6).

Thos. Sheridan. A Plan of Edn for the Young Nobility and Gentry of Great Britian. (Cr.Rev.Nov.,1769. 28: 342-8).

1770. Jas. Buchanan. A Plan of an English Grammar School Edn. Counts Latin a part of liberal education.(Mo.Rev. Aug.,1770. 43: 154-5)(Cr.Rev.Sept., 1770. 30: 238).

Baron Biefield. Tr. by W. Hooper. The Elements of Universal Erudition. (Cr.Rev. Oct.,1770. 30:262).

Young. Course of Experimental Agriculture. Refers to Dr. Home's The Principles of Agr'l and Vegetation.(Cr.Rev. Oct.,1770. 30:273-84; 321-35). (See also pp. 398-399).

Jas. Beattie. Essay on Truth. Added an essay on the Advantages of Classical Learning. Exalts Milton.

1771. George Fordyce. Elements of Agriculture and Vegetation. (Cr.Rev.Jan.,1771. 31:60-66).

1772. J. Rice. A Lecture on the Importance and Necessity of rendering the English Language a peculiar Branch of Female Edn; and on the Mode of Instruction by which it may be made subservient to the Purposes of improving the Understanding, and of inculcating the Precepts of Religion and Virtue. Pt.I. Remarks on the prevailing mode of Female Edn. Pt.II, Outlines Plan of Edn., and recommends both the Tractate and Paradise Lost.(Cr.Rev. July, 1773. 36:78-79).

Jas. Wadham Whitchurch. An Essay upon Edn.(Cr.Rev. May, 1772. 33:377).

1774. David Williams. A Treatise on Edn. Considers the schemes of Milton, Locke, Rousseau, and Helvetius. (Cr.Rev. Sept., 1774. 38:210-215).

1775. Wm. Enfield, LL.D. The Speaker &c. Quotes the Tractate, and selects from Milton.(Cr.Rev. April,1775.39:277-6).

1777. M. Helvetius.A Treatise on Man, his Intellectual Faculties, and his Edn. Tr. by W. Hooper, M.D. Regards Milton, Locke, and Newton, as no results of mere education. (Cr.Rev. Nov., 1777. 44: 327-341).

1782. Wm. Scott. Lectures on Education.(Cr.Rev. March,1782. 43: 240).

1781. Vicesimus Knox. Liberal Education. (Cr.Rev. Feb., 1781. 51: [illegible]).

George Hoskins. Essay on Female Edn. Declaims against the unsatisfactory condition of female boarding schools. (Cr.Rev. Oct.,1781. 52:318).

1782. Rev. R. Shepherd. An Essay on Edn. Pointed out defects, and recommended ten or twenty boys of same grade under one teacher. (Cr.Rev. June, 1782. 53: 479-80).

Percival Stockdale. An Examination of the Important Question whether Edn. at a great School, or by private Tuition, is preferable?. Prefers latter, against Knox.(Cr.Rev. June,1782. 53:479).

1783. Francis Whitfeld. The Utility and Importance of Human Learning, stated in a Sermon.(Cr.Rev. Feb.,1783.55:134).

1786. Peter Williams. Letters Concerning Edn. "The author has made a frequent, but discrete use of the thoughts of Bacon, Milton, Locke, Harris, Monboddo, and other writers on learning and education." (Cr. Rev. Feb., 1786. 61: 104-110).

Hannah More. Hints Towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess. 2 vol. London. 3rd. ed. 1805. Quotes Milton's definition of a complete and generous education on her title-page.

1787. George Colman. Orthopedia, or Thoughts on Public Edn. Cites Milton, Locke, and Cowper's Tirocinium(1765), in the same paragraph. Held Milton more favourable to public Edn., than Locke. (Mo.Rev. Oct., 1787. 77:273-281).

1788. John Weddell Parsons. Essays on Edn. (Cr. Rev.Aug. 1788. 66: 139-141).

The list might be enlarged. The subjects discussed include: Literature, Classics, Chemistry, Medicine, Agriculture, Horticulture, Philosophy, Theology, Geography, History, Short-Hand, Higher Mathematics, Botany, Music, Military Tactics,&c. Every stage of educational work was discussed, from the "grades" to the University. The education of women was very prominent; and that of the nobility received considerable attention. The commercial aspects of common education began to emerge, and the idea of public schools was touched upon.

There seems to have been a decided discontented feeling toward the systems in vogue. The moral results of the schools were especially debated. There was a constant casting about for the hope of better things. Among those who may have been regarded as earlier authorities, none are more often referred to and quoted than Milton himself. In many cases, his ideas were cited as just the remedy that the interests of educational work most needed.

APPENDIX I. MILTON'S EDEN AND ENGLISH LANDSCAPE GARDENING.

English landscape gardening in the eighteenth century represented a strong revolt against the artificial gardens of the seventeenth century, seen more especially on the Continent. The literature of this revolt has been very well treated by Professor Beers in his chapter on Landscape Gardening (Hist. of Eng. Rom.), and by Miss Myra Reynolds, in her chapter on Gardening (The Treatment of Nature in Eng. Poetry, pp. 180-192). But the latter especially is open to some criticism in dealing with the negative aspects of the subject, to the neglect of the constructive and productive influences which brought about the change in taste and practice.

Among the more effective forces in producing this change in gardening, one must place the influence of Milton. Francis Coventry (d. 1759), discussing "absurd Taste in Gardening," even in the mid-century, condemned Milton's "trim gardens" in Penseroso, because they were drawn from the custom of his own day. (World No.15. April 12, 1753. Br.Es.1823. 22). But Milton's Eden was felt throughout the century to have been a concrete protest against the prevailing custom of artificiality, and it seems to have had no small influence as a constructive force in molding the taste of the English people on this subject.

In Paradise Lost (Book IV, 131-357) Milton gave an elaborate description of Eden. This Paradise, its very name a synonym for an Oriental garden, those sweet fields of Elysium adorned with all that imagination can conceive to be delightful, was a garden of Nature's own fashioning. I had

> Flowers worthy Paradise; which not nice art
> In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
> Pour'd forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain(241-3).
>
> Earth, and the Garden of God, with cedars crown'd
> Above all hills. (260-1).
>
> He brought them into this delicious grove,
> This garden, planted with the trees of God,
> Delectable both to behold and taste. (537-39).

And there the Poet made of the first Parents practical landscape gardeners. (ix, 192 ff). "Some of the most pleasing passages of Milton," said Knox, voicing the constant feeling of the century, "are those in which he represents the happy pair engaged in cultivating their blissful abode." (On the Pleasures of a Garden. Essays Moral & Lit. (1779). 9th.ed. 1787. No.91, vol. ii, 291).

Milton's description of Eden received constant applause. When H. Hare (1636-1708) published his Situation of Paradise Found Out (London, 1683), he quoted therein two pages from Milton's description of Eden, thus giving the sense of an earthly habitation, and strengthening the bond of union between Milton and the rising interests of Orientalism. Bysshe, in his Art of Poetry (1702. ed. 1710, ii, 322-5), also quoted the description at great length. Addison highly commended "the beds of flowers

and the wildness of sweets" in Eden for their refreshing influence upon the imagination. (Spec. June 30, 1712).

The Poetical Tributes to Milton has many pleasing references to Eden. (cf. 66, 85, 163, 181, &c.). In 1734(?), Vincent Browne(1695-1747), in a Latin Poem, In Miltonum, ascribed considerable praise to Milton's landscape excellences. Similar praise, though in lighter tone, may be found in On a Flower Which Belinda Gave Me From Her Bosom (Poems. 2 ed. 1739, 168-171). This rather general feeling was very well voiced in Solitude. An Allegorical Ode (Gent. Mag. June, 1748. 18:278), which is much in the spirit of Il Penseroso:

> From empty mirth, and fruitless strife
> To sacred Solitude's retreat,
> Where Nature all her charms resumes,
> And Eden still unfaded blooms.

Professor Beers, quoting Gray and others, argues that James Thomson, in his Seasons(1726-30), was "perhaps, in a great measure, the father of the national school of landscape gardening." (Hist. Eng. Rom.,p.118). Doubtless this channel was one through which considerable Miltonic influence from Eden reached the English imagination. Joseph Warton, in his Paper on the Blemishes in The Paradise Lost (Adventurer, Oct. 23, 1751), laid great emphasis upon the attractiveness of Milton's Eden. Lord Kames observed that "Milton, describing the Garden of Eden, prefers justly grandeur before regularity," and then quoted liberally of Milton's description. (Elements of Criticism, 1762. ed 6th. 1785. ii, 439). James Harris (1709-80) exalted the taste of Virgil, Horace, and "our great countryman, Milton," in connection with the delight in natural scenery, and quoted P.L.iv,245ff and v, 292ff. (Works, 1841. 526). This was in a chapter "Concerning Natural Beauty." One may compare also Thomas Whateley's Observations on Modern Gardening (1770) for additional sentiment.

There was a rather strong tendency to describe English gardens and landscapes in terms of Milton. Something akin to this usage appeared in Dr. William Brome's Epistle To... Elijah Fenton (1726), though the reference there is not local.(Chalmers, Eng. Poets, 12:18-19). Jesus Grove, Inscribed to a Lady(1727), was written by Wm. Bowman, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who looked upon this grove, "And Paradise still opens to (his) mind."(Poems, 2.ed. London, 1732. 1-17). Nathaniel Cotton (1707-88), probably as early as 1730, wrote the following lines On Lord Cobham's Gardens. (Elegant Extracts, 1809. Bk.iv, No. 189):

> It puzzles much the sages' brains,
> Where Eden stood of yore:
> Some place it in Arabia's plains;
> Some say it is no more.
>
> But Cobham can these tales confute,
> All all the curious know;
> For he has proved beyond dispute
> That Paradise is Stowe.

An anonymous Epistle to a Fellow Traveller (Gent. Mag.May, 1735. 5:265-6) has two allusions to Milton, and a note which says, "The gardens of Eyford are thus described by Milton in his para-

dise lost, lib 3, who wrote part and dictated the rest of that divine poem at this seat, then belonging to the D. of Buckinghamshire, now to the worthy Wm. Wanley, Esq." King William visited this retreat and thought it "a place out of the world." The Rev. Mr. Chamberlayne, in the Gentleman's Magazine, December, 1741,(11: 661-2), published A Poem Occasioned by a View of Powers-Court House, the Improvements, Parks, &c., stating that

"Thus Eden springs where once you found a waste."

Charles Smith, in his History of the County of Kerry, has a quotation from Paradise Lost (Bk. iv) applied in alocal way as the description of a beautiful woods.(Mo.Rev. Dec.,1757. 17:506-520). In the same manner, Edw. Stephens's poem On Lord Bathurst's Park describes that Park as "the beauteous Eden," in terms of Milton. (Poems, 1769. pp.170-179).

Gradually it came to be a matter of common thought, that Milton had furnished a pattern for English gardens, and the adoption of his standards were even insisted upon. One may find such titles as, Paradice Regained: or, the Art of Gardening. A Poem(1728), by John Lawrence; and Eden: or, a Compleat Body of Gardening.(Cr.Rev. Sept., 1758. 6:245-51). There seems also a connection between Milton's Eden and the following works of Sir Wm. Chambers: Essay on Chinese Gardens(1757), Description of a Chinese Garden (1760), and a Dissertation on Oriental Gardens (1772). The intimacy with which Milton entered into the practical thoughts of mid-century English gardening may be seen in the following paper, by Cambridge, on the Advantages of Modern Gardening, which appeared in The World, April 3, 1755:

> "I am particularly pleased with considering the progress which a just taste and real good sense have made in the modern mode of gardening." The author thought that "this forced taste (of France), aggravated by some Dutch acquisitions, for more than half a century, deformed the face of nature in this country." He held that Sir William Temple, in his "prophetic spirit points out a higher style, free and unconfined."
>
> "The boundless imagination of Milton in the fourth book of Paradise Lost, struck out a plan of a garden, which I would propose for the entertainment and instruction of my readers, as containing all the views, objects, and ambition of modern designing." He thought that "it is the peculiar happiness of this age to see these just and noble ideas brought into practice, regularity banished, etc." (Brit. Essayists, 1823. 23, No. 118).

In 1757 an anonymous publication, in heroic couplets, appeared under the following title: The Rise and Progress of the Present Taste in Planting Parks, &c., from Henry VIII to King George III. In a Poetical Epistle to the Rt.Hon. Charles Lord Viscount Irwin. This work was said to have complimented Milton's ideas of horticulture at the expense of those of King William and Sir Wm. Temple.(Cr.Rev.June,1767. 23:460-1). Mo.Rev. Aug.,1767.37: 139-144). This comparison was cited with approval by Walpole, in his Essay on Modern Gardening(1785), and Temple received the same adverse comparison at the hands of Mason (English Garden.1772-82).

Les Saisons, Poëme (Amsterdam, 1769) had a "Prefatory Discourse on Pastoral Poetry," pronounced "one of the best... extant," in which the author held that nature may be exalted by displaying "her at the moments when she is sublime," and found the best examples of this in Milton's description of Eden. The Book of Nature. A Poem (London, 1771) thought of flowers etc. as making "a Paradise below."

These rather unimportant materials were followed by a number of formal and important treatments of the subject of gardening. The English Garden, a didactic poem in blank verse, by the Rev. Wm.Mason began to appear in 1772. The poem was a four books, which were published in 1772, 1777, 1779, and 1782. The completed work contained the general principles of the subject; and for its bearing upon Milton's influence on gardening, it will be sufficient to quote one sentence from the Monthly Review (46:219-226). "As he has styled Bacon the Prophet, so he calls Milton the Herald of true taste in gardening; and he here copies, from the Paradise Lost, the charming descrition of the Garden of Eden."

Upon this influence of Milton Horace Walpple became somewhat eloquent in his Essay on Modern Gardening (1785, Works, 1798. vol. II, 519-545). After attempting to explain how the "model of Eden" was lost, and how gardens had acquired an artificial development, he continued as follows, patriotically contrasting England with all the world.

"One man, one great man we had, on whom nor education nor custom could impose their prejudices; who, 'on evil days though fallen, and with darkness and solitude compassed round,' judged that the mistaken and fantastic ornaments he had seen in gardens, were unworthy of the Almighty hand that planted the delights of Paradise. He seems with the prophetic eye of taste to have conceived, to have foreseen modern gardening; as lord Bacon announced the discoveries since made by experimental philosophy. The description of Eden is a warmer and more just picture of the present style than Claud Lorrain could have painted from Hagley or Stourhead. (These) lines exhibit Stourhead on a more magnificent scale (P.L. iv, 223-7). Hagley seems pictured in (iv,227-30). What colouring, what freedom of pencil, what landscape in (iv, 237-47)! Read this transporting description, paint to your mind the scenes that follwo, contrast them with the savage but respectable terror with which the poet guards the bounds of his Paradise, (iv, 134-142), and then recollect that the author of this sublime vision had never seen a glimpse of anything like what he has imagined, (either in the ancients or the moderns). His intellectual eye saw a nobler plan, so little did he suffer by the loss of sight. It sufficed him to have seen the materials with which he could work. The vigour of his boundless imagination told him how a a plan might be disposed, that would embellish nature, and restore art to its proper office, the just improvement of imitation of it." Walpole thought it necessary to have an affidavit that Milton's description "was written about one half a century before the introduction of modern gardening, or our incredulous descendants will defraud the poet of one half his glory, by being persuaded that the poet had copied some garden or gardens he had seen,---- so minutely do his ideas correspond with the present standard."

In 1790, the Abbé de Lille published The Garden; or, The Art of Laying Out Grounds. Translated from the French. The Critical Review complained that this author took no notice of "Pope, Thomson, Gray, and Mason, to each of whom he is highly indebted." (Cr.Rev.Oct.,1790. 70:409-414). The author did, however, devote forty-four lines to Milton, which are in the highest strains of praise, as may be seen by reference to Tribute 181. Reviewing a later edition of this work (1798), the Monthly Review took pride in saying: "The truth is that the English taste in gardens, and laying out the grounds surrounding villas, and great provincial mansions, was suggested by Milton, (in his description of the Garden of Eden), by Addison, and by Pope, and was pursued and reduced to practice by Kent and Brown, a considerable time before even tradition had carried it to the Continent. We were certainly the first in Europe who quitted the regular style, etc."(Mo. Rev. March, 1799. 109(28):294-301).

John Aikin (1747-1822), in an essay On Milton's Garden of Eden, as a Supposed Prototype of Modern English Gardening (1798-9), endeavoured to show "that the plan of Milton's Paradise is appropriate to it as a peculiar scene in creation, and ny no means was intended to serve as a model for gardens made by human hands,---- and also, that there existed various poetical descriptions of a similar kind before his time, some of which could scarcely fail of being present to his memory when he wrote.....It was his business to paint a natural scene, enriched with all the variety of delightful objects that could be assembled in one spot."

Aikin then attempted to find the "sources" for Eden in the fields of Enna, the grove of Orontes, and the Mysian isle, which are used by Virgil and especially by Claudian. But More particularly in the Italian poets, the favorites of Milton, was the inspiration of the English poet. The gardens of Alcina by Ariosto, and of Armida by Tasso "may be considered as the true prototype of the terrestrial Paradise." (Letters of a Father to his Son. Letter vi. 1798-9. II, 99-113).

Aikin argued very learnedly on this subject, and perhaps established his contention that Milton had "sources" and also that Milton had respect to art rather than landscape gardening in his conception of Eden. But all that may be granted without seriously affecting the influence of Milton's imaginative appeal to the English people in this connection. Many modifying factors are involved in this question of the change of taste in gardening, and exact measurements are obviously impossible. But it would seem, in view of the persistent interest in this direction, that Milton's description of Eden must have been among the important forces that influenced the change of taste in landscape gardening.

APPENDIX J. MILTON'S MONUMENT, GRAVE AND FAMILY.

Under [illegible] influences, a [illegible] was erected to Milton in Westminster Abbey, in the year 1737; though sixteen years earlier the name of Milton had not been permitted to appear in that sacred place upon the inscription to the memory of another poet. The donor of this Monument was William Benson, better known as Auditor Benson. He was a public spirited man, with sufficient means at command to carry out at least some of his plans. He had a Milton Medal made; had Rysbeck to make two busts of Milton; and later gave William Dobson £1,000 for a Translation of Paradise Lost into Latin Verse, which appeared in 1750-52 (p. 47 above).

The Gentleman's Magazine (April, 1738. 8:216) gave the following notice of an "Inscription under a Bust, carved by Mr. Rysbeck, lately put up in Westminster Abbey between Butler and Prior:"

M I L T O N

In the Year of Our Lord Christ, One Thou-

sand Seven Hundred and Thirty-seven.

This Bust of the Author of PARADISE

LOST was placed here by William Benson,

Esq.; one of the two Auditors of the Impress

to his Majesty King George III., formerly Surveyor

General of the Works to his Majesty King George I.

To the Author of Paradise Lost! The only protest against that inscription to Milton was that the donor had devoted more space to himself than to the great Poet. But Milton himself was felt to be sufficiently honoured in being described as the Author of Paradise Lost.

By this happy honouring of Milton, Benson immortalized his own name, not only among the illustrious dead, but also in the grateful hearts of the living. Birch spoke of this Monument, while the plans of its erection were being carried out, in the highest terms of praise (Life of Milton, ed. 1738. I, p. lxiii); as did also most of Milton's biographers after Birch. Sixty years later, Jospeh Warton, in his edition of Pope's Works (1797), spoke of Benson as having "rescued his

country from the disgrace of having no monument erected to the Memory of Milton in Westminster Abbey.(Cr. Rev. Jan., 1798. n.s. 22: 10-18). A Letter to Mr. Mason. Occasioned by his Ode to Independency (1768) was, however, thought to have gone out of its way to make "some severe and ill-timed reflections on Miltons's political principles, entirely foreign to his subject," with a tirade against Milton's "Cenotaph of late erected.... in Westminster Abbey." (Cr. Rev. June, 1756. 1: 401).

Another matter of much interest in connection with the erection of this Monument, was The Apotheosis of Milton. A Vision, which ran through several numbers of the Gentleman's Magazine in 1738 (8: 232, 469, 521; 9: 20, 73). This was said to be the work of Wm. Guthrie (Mo. Rev. July, 1787. 77:09), though it was included by Sir John Hawkins in his edition of Dr. Johnson's Works (1787, vol. xi).

Guthrie (1708-1770) represented himself as shut up for the night in the melancholy gloom of Westminster Abbey. The Vision which appeared to him was announced in these words: "Tonight an assembly of the greatest importance is held upon the admission of the Great Milton into this society." "This society" appeared in council, each member, in a characteristic manner, discussed the claims of Milton to membership, and Addison, with some assistance, introduced Milton to the august assembly. Another matter of similar import, was An Election in Parnassus, a Dream, by "J. Nightmare," dateed, "Oxford, June 7, 1754." The main issue of the election was the question of Epic Poetry. There were three candidates in the field. When the ballot was counted, Homer had 24, Virgil 12, and Milton 12. (Gray's Inn Journal, No. 86. Drake's Gleaner, 1811. No.1000 2:395-404).

The Monument has one more point of interest in connection with the inscription to Gray in the Abbey. Chalmers (Eng. Poets, 18:338) added the following note to Mason's lines On Mr. Gray, in Westminster Abbey(Tribute 154): "The cenotaph is placed immediately under that of Milton, and represents, in alto relievo, a female figure with a lyre, as emblematical of the higher kinds of poetry, pointing with one hand to the bust above, and supporting with the other a medallion, on which is a profile head inscribed, "Thomas Gray." On the plinth is the following date; "He died July 31, 1771." While reading the Tribute, one should remember that Milton is there "the Author of Paradise Lost.

The Grave of Milton was not without sone interest in the eighteenth century. Milton was buried in the St. Giles Church-yard. In connection with his Life of Milton (1725), Fenton undertook to indentify the Poet's Grave; but the sexton then in charge of the Church-yard had not been able to read the inscription on the supposed Grave of Milton, for the past forty years (P.S. to the Life).

In 1790, however, the supposed Grave of Milton was broken open, the sacred remains exposed to public gaze, and some teeth and bones (according to some) actually sold as precious relics. (Mo. Rev. Nov.,1790. 3:350). Le Neve wrote A Narrative of the

Disinterment of Milton's Coffin, in the Parish-Church of St.Giles's Cripplegate, on Wednesday, 4th. of August, 1790. (Gr. Rev. Sept, 1790. 70: 843). But the remains thus exposed were thought to be the bones of a woman. Cancl Lofft, in his edition of Paradise Lost (1792), seems to have credited the exposure as genuine, and spoke of it as a "sordid mischief." (Todd's Life of Milton, 1826, p. 219). The poet Cowper took the matter seriously enough to heart to write Stanzas On the Late Indecent Liberties Taken with the Remains of Milton. anno. 1790. (The Ptl. Wks. of W-C-3 vols.,1896. ed. J. Bruce. III, 387-8).

Me, too, perchance, in future days,
The sculptured stone shall show,
With paphian myrtle, or with bay,
Parnassian, on my brow.

But I, or ere that season come,
Escaped from every care,
Shall reach my refuge in the tomb,
And sleep securely there.

So sang, in Roman tone and style,
The youthful bard, ere long
Ordained to grace his native isle
With her sublimest song.

Who then but must conceive disdain,
Hearing the deed unblessed
Of wretches who have dared profane
His dread sepulcher rest?

Ill fare the hands that heaved the stones
Where Milton's ashes lay,
That tremble not to grasp the bones
And steal his dust away!

O ill requited bard! neglect
Thy living worth repaid,
And blind idolatrous respect
As much affronts thee dead.
"August, 1790."

Milton's daughter, Mrs. Clark, and her daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, were objects of charity, toward whom the English people, in a semi-national way, expressed their regard for the great Poet.

Mrs. Clark was visited by Addison in 1719, who recognized her from her likeness to Milton's picture, with which Addison was very familiar. Seeing her needs, he appealed to a few friends for help, and presented her with a purse of guineas. He also promised to procure her an annual provision for her life; but he dying soon after, she lost the benefit of this generous design. (Addisoniana, 1803, I, 158-9. II, 149).

Some years later, Queen Caroline, who was then the Princess of Wales, generously bestowed upon Mrs. Clark help because she was in extremely reduced circumstances. Aaron Hill, speaking of this "Royal Regard for the Daughter of Milton," said: "The Queen would atone, and propitiate for the Nation! She would do too much Honour to the Daughter, (who, I think, claim'd no Hereditary Brightness) because too little had been done to the Father, by spirits less capable to know, and distinguish him."(Epistle Dedicatory, Advice to the Poets. 1731. p. xiv). Other references to the Queen's generosity may be found in Birch's Life of Milton; Newton's Life (li); Notes to Comus (Trib. 65); Warton's Milton (1791, Introduction); and Mo. Rev. Feb., 1764 (30:159) for some other matters.

Mrs. Elizabeth Foster's destitute circumstances called forth a public benefit in 1750. Newton's treatment of Milton's family (Life, 1749) occasioned some corrections from William Lauder, who emphasized the poverty of Mrs. Foster, Milton's own grand-daughter, as a part of his own scorn for England's blindness in worshipping Milton. This correction appeared in Lauder's Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns (1750), to which Johnson, it seems, added an appeal in behalf of Mrs. Foster. This appeal was printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, and public interest was immediately aroused.

Dr. John Dalton was also a prime mover in bringing plans in her behalf into definite form, according to the Monthly Review (March, 1787. 76: 209). It was there said, that Dalton was "known both as a poet and divine, but also remarkable for preparing for the stage the Comus of Milton, and with great industry searching for Milton's grand-daughter, oppressed by age and poverty, and procuring her a benefit at Drury-Lane Theatre in 1750, the profits of which were considerable." The date here given is an obvious mistake for 1750, when Comus was performed for her benefit. The event may be briefly told in the words of Edward Cave, editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, who, with the other prominent London printers (Dodsley, Cox and Collins, Payne and Bouquet), received subscriptions and sold the tickets. Cave said, (Gent. Mag. 20: 152):

"The intimation of her need was made by Lauder. Johnson suggested the plan to Garrick. Garrick and Lacy, managers of the Drury Lane, furnished the Theatre free of rent. All concerned in Milton's Works, and others of rank and distinction, contributed. Johnson wrote the prologue (which was spoken by Garrick), (afterwards printed for her benefit (Trib. 93), The 4th. (of April) was the time set, but unfavourable circumstances hindered large success, and the play was given again on the 5th."

Dr. Newton subscribed liberally, and Tonson gave £ 20. The whole income amounted to about £ 130, which enabled Mrs. Foster to move into a better home and spend in comfort the remainder of her years, which were very few.

Walpole had a hand in this affair, and spoke of it later with something like national pride. Writing in The World (No. 8. Feb. 22, 1753. Br. Essayist. 1827. 16:32-36), he said, in words designed to recommend the unfortunate Theodore, King of Corsica, to the liberality of the public:

"Who ever perused the stories of Edward II, Richard II, or Charles I, but forgot their excesses, and sighed for their catastrophe? In this free-spirited island there are not more hands ready to punish tyrants, than eyes to weep their fall. It is a common care: we are Romans in resisting oppression, very women in lamenting oppressors!" Then recommending a benefit play for the fallen king, Walpole said, "that the same human and polite age raised a monument to Shakespeare, a fortune for Milton's grand-daughter, and a subsidy for a captive king." In that laudable connection, he very properly alluded to Garrick, as "that incomparable actor who so exquisitely touches the passions and distresses of self-dethroned Lear."

Thomas Warton did not, however, feel so well about the results of this benefit, some forty years later. In that interesting Appendix to the Preface to his edition of Milton's Poems on Several Occasions (ed. 1791. xli), Warton referred to this Comus [illegible] (1750) with an evident sense of humiliation. The sum, he said was "only 130 pounds." He ventured to affirm that "the present age," with its advancement, would do far more for a grand-daughter of "the Author of Comus and Paradise Lost."

Probably this constant brooding over the treatment of Milton in his later life, rendered more keenly conscious to the English people by these public favours to his family in distress, did as much as any other force to create in England a growing sentiment for the proper support of English authors. This sentiment [illegible] took on a practical expression in the end of the eighteenth century, as will appear from the following paragraph, taken, through the Critcal Review, (Jan., 1796. n.s. 16:119-20), from A Dictionary of Literary Curiosities (8vo. Ridgeway, 1795):

"They who suppose it (Literature) will confer riches, are deceived; genius seldom enjoys the favours of fortune, the profits of authors do not keep pace with their reputation. Melancholy is the catalogue of men of letters who have pined in misery, and sunk under the pressure of indigence. Painful reflection! The philanthropick George Dyer, in his Dissertation on the Theory and Practice of Benevolence, has treated this subject with energy and feeling. To the honour of Literature in this country, a Society to Support Authors in Distress has been instituted within these two years. Many ingenious, unfortunate men, have received assistance from it. May its influence extend!"

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V I T A

John Walter Good, the author of this Dissertation, was born near Fayetteville, Lincoln County, Tennessee, on February 13, 1879, as the second son of James A. and Martha M. Good, who still reside near the place of his own birth.

His preparation for college was taken mainly in The Morgan Training School, Fayetteville, Tennessee. After teaching one year as an assistant in that school, he entered Erskine College, Due West, South Carolina, from which he graduated A. B. 1902, and A. M. 1904. Between these dates he completed two years of work in the Erskine Theological Seminary, at the same place, which enabled him to graduate the next year from the Pittsburg Theological Seminary, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, with the class of 1905.

After spending three years in ministerial work, as pastor of The United Presbyterian Church in Birmingham, Michigan, and two years as superintendent of the Albion Public Schools, Albion, Illinois, he entered the University of Illinois, in the Summer session of 1910. Since that time, he has been engaged in regular graduate work, first as a scholar, and then for two years as a fellow in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, where his work was done in the Department of English and the School of Education. The present Dissertation was written under the direction of Professor Stuart Pratt Sherman, Ph. D., of the Department of English.

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